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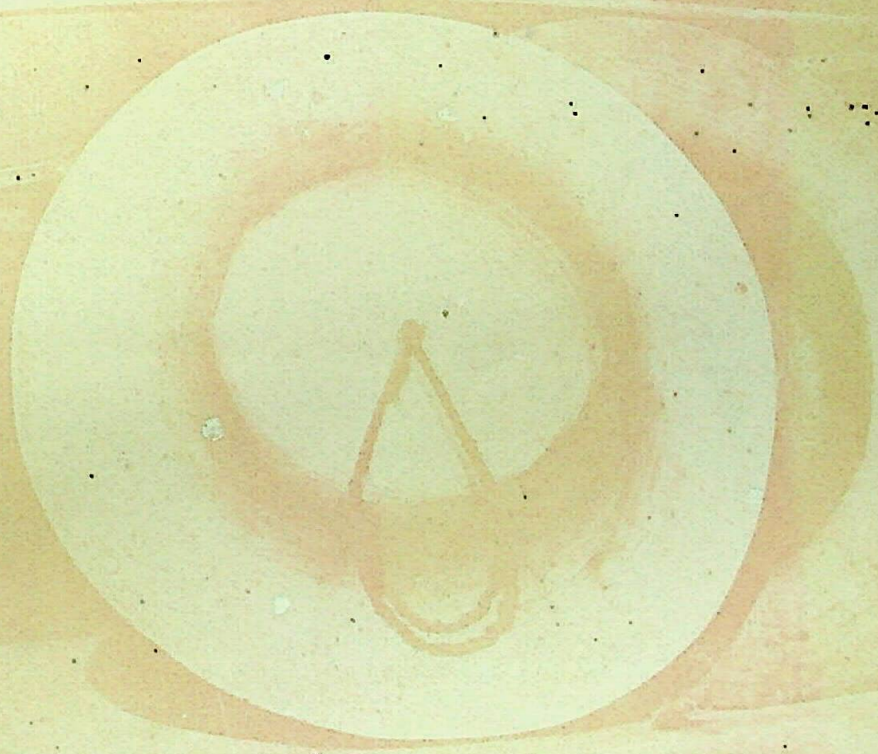
THE NĀYKHĪBĀJĀ OF THE NEWAR BUTCHERS



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GERT - MATTHIAS WEGNER

THE NĀYKHĪBĀJĀ OF BHAKTAPUR
STUDIES IN NEWAR DRUMMING II

FRANZ STEINER VERLAG WIESBADEN GMBH
STUTTGART
1988

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THE NĀYKHĪBĀJĀ OF BHAKTAPUR

STUDIES IN NEWAR DRUMMING II

आम्नाय-ग्रन्थालय,
भरतनिधि, करौंदी
वाराणसी-5

BY

GERT - MATTHIAS WEGNER

WITH 52 PLATES AND 2 MAPS

FRANZ STEINER VERLAG WIESBADEN GMBH
STUTTGART
1988

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आम्नाय-ग्रन्थालय,
भरतनिधि, पटौदी
वाराणसी-5

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Preface

This study is based on a survey held in Bhaktapur during 1983 and on my own apprenticeship of *nāykhĩ* (the butchers' drum) during 1985 and 1986 with Śrī Kājīlāl Śāhī from *Jẽlā*, Bhaktapur, which led to my participation as a *nāykhĩ* drummer during various ritual processions. My *Guruju*, Śrī Kājīlāl, kept his promise to teach me everything, despite the threats he received from some traditionalists, and despite the black magic connected with the ominous *sībājā*-music (the piece played during death processions).

The day after the completion of my *sībājā* apprenticeship I fell seriously ill and was restored to health only twelve days later by some spiritual medicine (*vibhūti*) which counteracted the deadly spell within minutes. I decided to publish this material only after consulting with a spiritual guide who made me realize that it was not the music but the reputation of the piece, which had worked on my mind and led to physical destruction. I gladly followed his advice to do my duty with an untroubled mind; - as *Arjuna* regathered his strength after *Śrī Kṛṣṇa's* revelations. But even an illusion may harm those who do not know how to master it. For those I repeat Kājīlāl's warning: The *sībājā*-piece must not be played outside its ritual context.

I humbly present this study as a report of my research activities to the Research Division of Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur.

I am grateful to my Guruji, Pandit Nikhil Ghosh of Bombay, by whose intensive training in the art of *tablā* playing I was able to absorb and understand the Newar drumming in quite a short time, my *Guruji*, Śrī Kājīlāl Śāhī, for sharing with me his knowledge and excellent muscianship, Bhaktapur's drum-maker, Śrī Bil Bahadur Kulu, for demonstrating the construction of the *nāykhĩ*, and Śrī Ganeshman Basukala for translating during some teaching sessions, questionning all the *Nāy* groups, and helping in so many ways. I would also like to thank Dr. Niels Gutschow for drawing the maps and helping with his knowledge as a veteran scholar of Bhaktapur, Śrī Nutan Sharma for writing down all the compositions in Devanāgarī script, Bhāju Darasha Newami for

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translating an extract version into Newari, and Ms. Carol Tingey for revising the English manuscript.

The present study and my research in Nepal could not have been realized without the generous grant of the German Research Council (Deutsche Foschungsgemeinschaft).

The Sanskrit terms are spelt here as they are pronounced by the Bhaktapur Newars. The transcription of Newari terms follows the mode of B. Kölver and I. Sresthacharya.

Bhaktapur, 24th of March 1987

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Dedicated to my Guruju, Śrī Kājīlāl Śāhī

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Introduction

The *nāykhĩbājā* of the Newar butchers (*Nāy* or *Kasāī*) plays a prominent role during many town rituals of Bhaktapur. The repertoire always corresponds closely with the event and the location. The expressions range from mere signals to the extreme sadness of *sībājā* (death music) or to the rhythmic ecstasy and joyful indulgement of *calti* (a dance piece). The instruments are the *nāykhĩ*, a two-headed drum of varying shape (barrel to cylindrical), played with a stick and a flat left hand, and the pair of *sichyāḥ*-cymbals which are called *kãy* by the *Nāy*. Occasionally, for some prestigeous death-procession, the number of players and instruments can be multiplied.

Compared to the boisterous *dhimaybājā* and *dhãbājā* of the *Jyāpu* and other castes, *nāykhĩbājā* has a kind of subdued quality, which immediately identifies it during processions.

The combination of *nāykhĩ* and *sichyāḥ* is not restricted to the *Nāy*. These instruments are also played by the Buddhist groups during the month of *gũlā*, and during the performances of the *navabājā* ensembles. The *nāykhĩbājā*, however, is so closely associated with the butcher caste, that it inevitably stigmatizes the player as a *Nāy*.

The butchers find themselves at the very bottom of the Newar ritual hierarchy. Eating in their presence would be unthinkable for a *Jyāpu*. Luckily for the *Nāy*, they have somebody below themselves: They cannot take their food when the *Kulu* (drum-maker) is around. The caste stigma surely is a chief reason for the *Nāy* boys to refuse the learning of *nāykhĩbājā*. I have been requested desperately by some to teach them to play *dhimay* or *tablā* instead, which would make them look and sound like upper-caste.

Another reason for the decline of this art form is the funding plight of the *nāykhĩbājā* performances. Since the land reforms connected with the *guṭhi saṃsthān* act in the 1960ies most of the land was lost, which until then had financed the groups. The centralized payment through the guṭhi

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samsthān often remains a theoretical one. So the sound of *nāykhĩbājā* is becoming rare in Bhaktapur.

The low caste of the butchers does not necessarily imply a similar financial disposition. Although there are some extremely poor families, others were able through their traditional profession as meat sellers to become rich and influential. In the olden days, all the *Nāy* families were regularly dispropriated by the king, their profession offering them 'inadequate means'. This financial degradation went along with another one: *Nāy* women were frequently taken as concubines by wealthy members of the upper castes.

Even nowadays male small-talk tends to consider *Nāy* girls as the most beautiful ones among all the Newar castes. No doubt, fruits beyond reach are the sweetest, but this talk may have some real basis.

According to their low status, the *Nāy* had to settle at the very periphery of the town, far away from the royal palace and the ritual centres (see map 1; p. 13).

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The nāykhĩbājā-groups and their performances

Most of the 14 *Nāy sīguṭhis* (death ritual associations) own a set of instruments for the performance of *sībājā* during their death processions. Thus, the *Nāy guṭhis* constitute the nucleus for the *nāykhĩbājā*-groups, whatever other duties the players may have to observe during the town rituals.

The groups are listed here in relation to the gods of music, *Nāsaḥdyaḥ* and *Haimādyaḥ*, whom the musicians worship during their learning period. The gods and the respective groups are (from East to West):

the gods of music	related *nāykhĩbājā*
Sujamādhi Nāsaḥ	
and Haimākhyaḥ Haimā:	*Jẽlā*
Tāthu Nāsaḥ and Haimā:	*Lẽmugaḥ*
	Kvāthẽdau
	Kvākacā
Cvachẽ Nāsaḥ and Haimā:	*Cvachẽ*
Cvachẽ Nāsaḥ	
and Bālākhu Haimā:	*Byāsi*
Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ and Haimā:	*Cāsukhyaḥ*
	Tāhāmalā
	Degamanā
	Itāchẽ

At the time of this survey (1983) the *Kvākacā* group (located between *Jẽlā* and *Cāsukhyaḥ*) did not exist. The instruments were there in the possession of the *guṭhi*, but since the previous generation there was nobody to play them. Only in 1985 the *guṭhi* requested Shri Kājīlāl to revive their *nāykhĩbājā* by training a group of eight boys. Until today (March 1987) these boys were not able to learn the whole repertoire. *sībājā*, considered as the most difficult piece, remains to be taught.

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Bhaktapur map 1

Location of the ten *nāykhĩbājā* groups in relation to the essential pair of *Nāsaḥdyaḥ/Haimādyaḥ* (the gods of music) who are worshipped during the apprenticeship. According to their low status, the *Nāy* had to settle at the very periphery of the town, far away from the royal palace *(lāyaku)* and the ritual centres.

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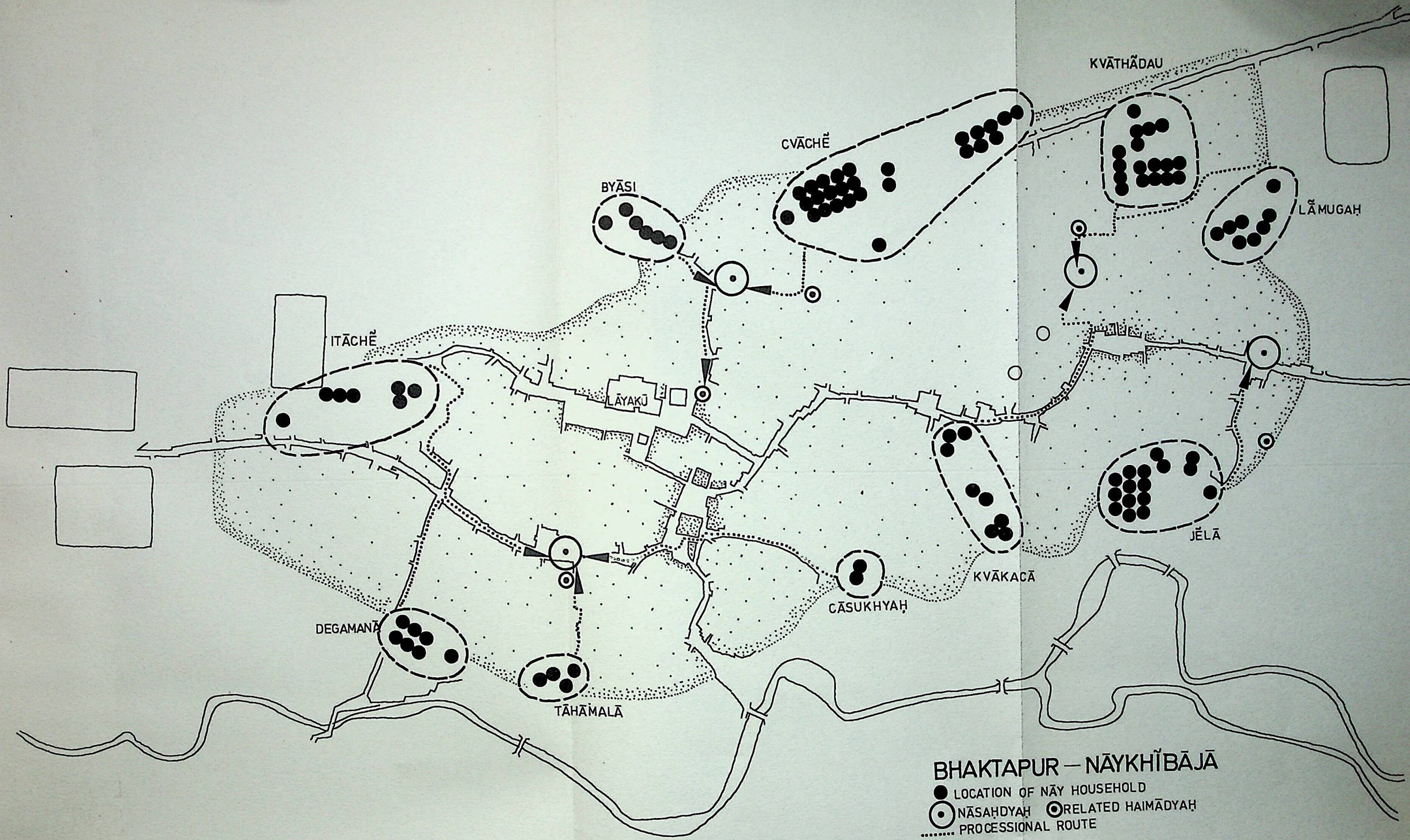

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The rituals connected with a musical apprenticeship have been described (Wegner 1986). *Nāy* musicians are initiated on similar lines. The only difference is the number of the gods who receive daily offerings from the students. During the initial *Nāsah-sāle-pūjā* not only *Nāsaḥdyaḥ* and *Haimādyaḥ* are transferred to the practicing room, but also *Betāl*, the chaotic spirit associated with *Nāsaḥdyaḥ* as well as *Bhairava*. These three gods are represented during the apprenticeship by three betelnuts resting each one on a bed of rice in a clay cup (*kisali*).

The learning of *sībājā* requires a special setting: a lonely room, ṣound-proof and inaccessible to any outsider. The reason for these precautions is the black magic which is said to work on those who listen to this piece outside its ritual context, i.e. the actual death procession. People may fall ill and die. Even those who learn or teach this piece are risking their lives. No wonder Kājīlāl hates to teach *sībājā*. Whenever he was compelled to, either his own health suffered severely or he lost one of his close family members. However, he seems to be the only player in Bhaktapur who can play this piece correctly.

Sībājā-performances are not restricted to the members of one *nāykhĩbājā*-group. If the occassion demands it, the best players of the town will unite to accompany some prominent *Nāy's* body to the cremation *ghāṭ*. Other ritual duties are frequently circulating among players of different groups, depending upon who is free on a certain day, or who likes to play with whom.

In Bhaktapur, *sībājā* is played almost exclusively for *Nāy* funerals. There are only two exceptions: When the *Rājopadyāya* priest of the *Taleju* temple dies, the *Nāy* may decide to honour him with their music. The other occassion is the annual funeral procession of the gods. On the day of *Bhagasiti* (during May) the *Navadurgā*, (protecting gods of Bhaktapur, represented by 11 masks which are worn by dancers), receive a final sheep sacrifice on the *Sujamādhi dabu* (platform). The dancers enact the death of the gods and proceed towards *Bramayāṇī pīṭh*, where the masks are cremated. The *nāykhĩbājā* provided by the *Byāsi* group plays the piece *pūjākhĩ* until they are out of the town. *Cyāmasiṅgha*, a stone well on the right side of the route to *Bramayāṇī*, indicates the place from where *sībājā* starts. As *sībājā* has been conceived to

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accompany death processions from the house of the deceased to the *ghāṭ*, and the music always corresponds with the locality, on this special occassion the piece cannot be played from the beginning. It starts with the first repetition of section A and follows the usual pattern until the end. While returning to the town, the *nāykhĩbājā* plays *bārā dāygu*, which signals: return from a ritual event. During a common death procession, however, *sībājā* is the only music to be played. The group returns home in silence.

In other towns of Kathmandu Valley the *sībājā*-music may accompany also death processions of those castes ranking above the *Nāy* in the ritual hierarchy. Frequently it is accompanied by a group of huge *kã*-trumpets, played by members of the *Khusaḥ* caste (in Patan). These instruments do not play melodies. With their underwordly sounds rather, they add to the sinister mood of the event.

Sībājā-performance during a *Nāy* funeral procession from *Tacapāḥ* to *Bramayāṇī* (25/9/1984)

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Usually, a *Nāy* funeral procession starts at the house of the deceased. Some people, however, who feel their death approaching, prefer to leave this world at *Hanumān ghāṭ*, which is considered auspicious. In such a case, the processional route to the burning place covers only a distance of 25 metres (see map 2: p.59). Still, the complete *sībājā*-sequence A B C A B D E A B A D F must be played, which takes a minimum of fifteen minutes. Apart from their cremation site at *Hanumān ghāṭ*, the *Nāy* are burnt either at *Bramayāṇī ghāṭ* or at *Cupī ghāṭ*, depending on the location of their houses. The *Nāy* cremation places are always a little apart from those used by the higher castes. At *Cupī ghāṭ* it is on the opposite bank of the *Hanumānte* river, next to those of the *Sāymi*, *Chipā*, and *Bhā*.

I observed the death procession of a wealthy *Nāy* (on 25th of Sept. 1984), where *sibājā* was performed by four *sichāḥ*-players and four *nāykhī*-players. The procession (see map 2 p.59) started at the house of the deceased at *Tacapāḥ*, passed the *chvāsā*-stone covered with ritual gifts for the *Jugi* (tailor-musician), and went via *Dattātreya Square* up to *Bramayāṇī pīṭh*, where the body was cremated at the Westernmost of the four cremation places, (not counting the one for the *Navadurgā* masks, which is exactly in front of the *pīṭh*).

The *sībājā*-group started playing in front of the house and stopped proceeding at the Southeastern corner of the *Bramayāṇī pīth*. Remaining there, they kept playing the respective patterns accompanying the circulation of the funeral pyre, the dropping of the corpse, the approach of the straw torch towards the head of the dead one (the ultimate duty of a Newar son towards his father). With this, the music ended. (For the detailed correspondence of *sībājā* with the locality see "The repertoire and its notation")

All the procession members were *Nāy*. They succeeded as follows:

a) a man carrying straw and the *dāga battī*, a straw torch with a bamboo handle, which is used by the son to light the funeral pyre;
b) a carrier of clay pots (*bājã*) filled with puffed rice (*tāy*) and *abhīr*-powder and coins, which he keeps distributing at every corner and at every temple (*tāy halegu*);

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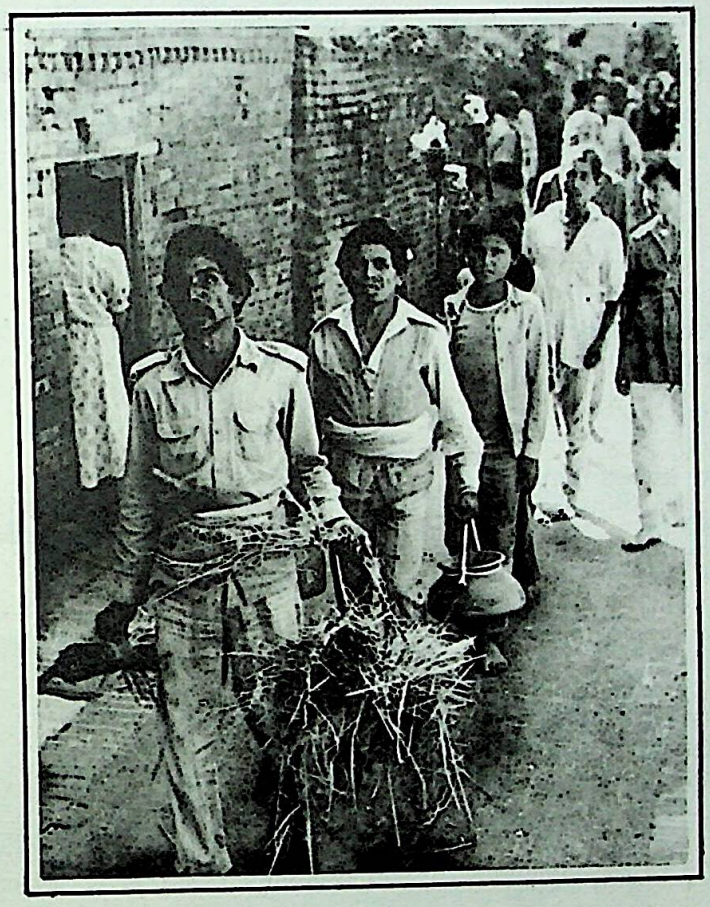
c) several torch bearers; - these decorative torches (*musyã pvāḥ*) are donated each by one of the daughters;

d) the *sībājā*-group;

e) the weeping female relatives;

f) the corpse carried and accompanied by male relatives and *guṭhi*-members.



A *Nāy* funeral procession (25/9/1984) headed by *dāga battī*, followed by the *bājã* and the *musyã pvāḥ*

The various duties of *nāykhĩbājā* during town rituals and family occasions other than *sībājā* (*kāytā-pūjā*, etc.) range from mere public attention catching for some announcement (*cvaykegu*) to the detailed correspondence with a given event and its meaningful representation on the audible level.

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A usual duty is the accompaniment of a procession visiting a god for an offering, or of a god moving through the town. The music starts with *dyaḥlhāygu*, an invocation of *Nāsaḥdyaḥ*. When the procession moves towards the location of the ritual, *pūjākhĩ* is played. This piece is easily recognized. It employs a five beat time-measure, which is extremely rare in Newar music and used only for very auspicious events. Besides *pūjākhĩ*, only the processional music of the *Navadurgā* is set in this metre. When the procession reaches the *pūjā* place, either *dyaḥlhāygu* is played as an invocation of the respective god, or *cvaykegu*, which calls the attention upon the ritual action. On the way back, *bārā dāygu* is played, which is set in a slow three beat time-measure. The procession concludes with another invocation of *Nāsaḥdyaḥ (dyaḥlhāygu)*.

This standard sequence:

start	:	*dyaḥlhāygu*
procession moves forth	:	*pūjākhĩ*
ritual action	:	*dyaḥlhāygu* or *cvaykegu*
procession moves back	:	*bārā dāygu*
end	:	*dyaḥlhāygu*

applies only during Hindu processions. If the drummer feels inspired, he may insert the joyful *calti*-piece when the group proceeds through the town. Usually this causes some enthusiasts to dance and enjoy themselves.

When the five *Dipãkara* Buddhas leave their monasteries to visit the town on *Pañcadān carhe* and *Māgh sãkrānti*, the most important one, the *Dipãkara* from *Kvāthãdau*, is accompanied with the sedate *bārekhĩ*-piece. The Buddhas interrupt their procession at twenty-two locations to dance respectful round for the local gods. The music for this dance of the Buddhas is supplied by a *Sāymi* (oilpresser) group with *pvana*-trumpets. When the Buddhas proceed, *nāykhĩbājā* takes over again with *bārekhĩ*. This procession starts and ends also with *dyaḥlhāygu*.

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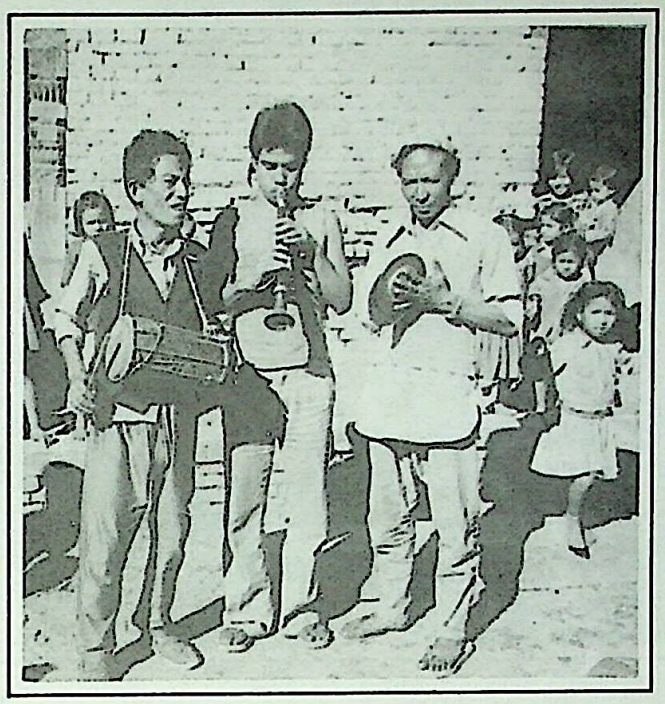

Nāykhĩbājā and *Mahālĩ*-oboe (played by a *Jugi* tailor-musician) accompanying the *Ekanta-Kumaris* to their *Āgamchẽ at Mulāchẽ (dasaĩ* 1985)

Nāykhĩbājā preceding a bier with a covered pot, during *bisket* 1986 *(bhājākhacāḥ-jātrā)*

Photo: Niels Gutschow

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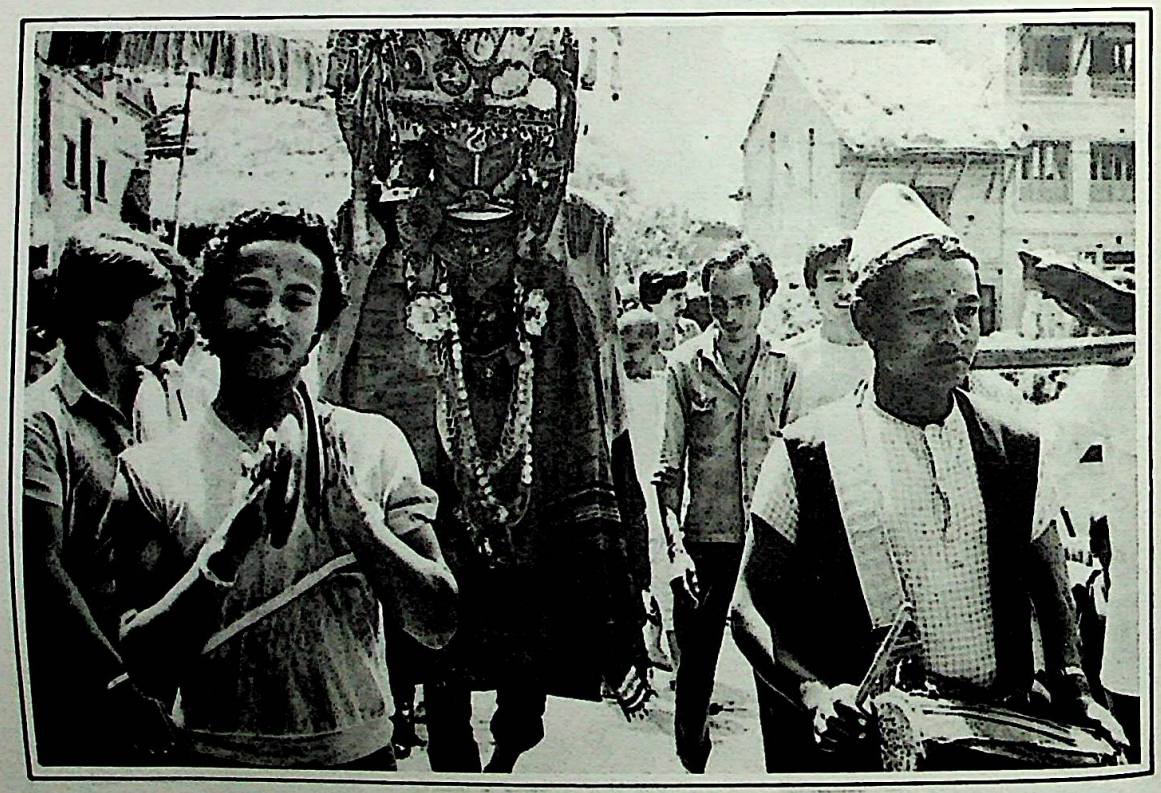
Nāykhĩbājā preceding *Akāśa Bhairava*, who is represented by a painting on a straw mat, during his procession through Bhaktapur on the last day of *Indra jātrā* 1986



Nāykhĩbājā accompanying the *Dipãkara Buddha* from *Kvāthãdau* during his procession on *Pañcadān carhe* 1986

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The announcement piece *cvaykegu*, which occurs as section D during *sībājā*, was used during the *Rāṇa*-period to announce the four days of unrestricted public gambling after *dasaĩ*, for political proclamations, and for the *bau halegu* procession on *pāsaḥ carhe*, when rice stained with fresh goat-blood is distributed at the streeet-crossings to pacify the evil spirits of headache, fainting, and suicide. The following story is told about the ritual's origin:

One of the *Malla*-rulers desired to extend his palace, for which he required land owned by the *Taleju*-temple. (In an other version, the king needed a *Brahman*'s land to build a temple for the newly imported goddess *Taleju*.) The priest refused to submit to the royal request. So the king took the land by force. The *Brahman* could not accept this sacrilege. He chose to commit suicide at the flat stone slab (*pisāsa*) in the Eastern *Taleju*-courtyard. His soul became transformed into an evil spirit. The king, now responsible for a *Brahman*'s death, (which is even worse than killing a cow), installed a monthly *pūjā*, (eleven *carhe pūjā* and one *pisāsa pūjā*) to pacify the ghost. On the day of *pāsaḥ carhe*, eight goats are sacrificed in the inner *Taleju*-courtyard, another one in the Southeast corner of the outer courtyard. The blood of the latter animal is sprinkled over a large pot with rice. One *Duĩ* (*Dvācā*) and a helper carry this pot - the goat on top - through the town and throw out handfuls of rice to feed the evil spirits. To make sure they get the message, *nāykhĩbājā* has to play *cvaykegu* all the way. Due to lack of funds, the *Nāy* have boycotted this procession since 1983.

During the 1983 sacrifice an interesting detail revealed how priests and spirits alike may be betrayed by a clever goat-seller: For blood sacrifices only completely white or black goats are accepted. Naturally, they are the more expensive kind. When the helper led the animal to the sacrifice, however, his hands became stained with black shoe-polish. Everybody became tense, when it came to the omen revealing the divine acceptance of the offering. A little water is sprinkled on the animal's head. If it does not shake it off vehemently, the whole ritual has to be repeated because of some inherent mistake. Luckily, in this case the goat bravely shook its head, and was cut on the spot.

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During *dasaĩ*, *Jẽlā nāykhĩbājā* and *Byāsi nāykhĩbājā* are responsible for the various duties connected with the *Navadurgā*. The groups alternate every year.

On *aṣṭamī* a *pūjā* at the *Navadurgā dyaḥchẽ*, (*nāykhĩbājā* plays *dyaḥlhāygu*), is succeeded by a procession to the *Jẽlā Nāsaḥdyaḥ*, (*nāykhĩbājā* plays *pūjā khĩ*), the exclusive music god of the *Navadurgā*. The *Navadurgā* dancers worship *Nāsaḥdyaḥ* and their instruments with a blood sacrifice and perform a brief dance without masks. During this *pūjā* the *nāykhĩbājā* plays *calti* to entertain the crowd. The dancers are accompanied back to their *dyaḥchẽ* with *bārā dāygu*.

On *navamī* evening, *Śrī Kājīlāl*, (who gets a refund from his *Byāsi* colleagues, if he does this during their term), binds the fabulous *khãme*-buffalo and leads it from the *Navadurgā dyaḥchẽ* to *Bramayāṇī pīṭh*. Then he returns to the *dyaḥchẽ* and with the help of one more *Nāy* accompanies the *Navadurgā* group to *Bramayānī pīṭh* while playing *pūjā khĩ*. There he sacrifices the *khãme* and plays *cvaykegu*. *Kājīlāl* is famous for his skill in cutting the jugular in such a way that the blood gushes out like a fountain. This is exactly what the *Navadurgā* require to satisfy their lust for blood comfortably. At midnight *Kājīlāl* accompanies the *Navadurgā* to *Yāchẽ* where they 'steal' their masks which are exposed in a *phalicā*. During this night, the public is shyed away from all the *Navadurgās'* activities. *Kājīlāl* and his colleague are the only outsiders permitted.

Previously, an ensemble of sixteen *kã*, (huge trumpets played by the *Sāymi*), used to walk in front of the *Navadurgā*, announcing the gods with their multivoiced roar. Alas, these deep, unearthly sounds have disappeared. Nowadays, only two *kã* players join the *Navadurgā* during *navamī* night, but their instruments do not function anymore. The disappearance of the deepest sounds is known as a symptom of decline in many music cultures.

On *dasamī* evening the *Navadurgā* put on their masks at *Bramayāṇī pīṭh* and walk towards the town where they receive their first ritual invitations. The two *Nāy* walk in front playing *nāykhĩ* and *sichyāḥ*, while carrying the head of the *khãme* buffalo dangling from a stick which

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rests on their shoulders. In this way they accompany the gods during their round through Bhaktapur until *bihi*, (on the next Tuesday or Saturday after *triyadasī*), when the *Navadurgā* finally drink the *khãme* blood and relish the well-decayed brain. *Kājīlāl* is rewarded with the neck portion of the *khãme* head which by now, (up to eight days after the sacrifice), emits a considerable stench.

For a detailed account of all the ritual duties of *nāykhĭbājā* see Appendix No. 1.

During family feasts of the *Nāy*, the *calti*-piece usually drives the mood to a joyous climax, so that everybody feels tempted to dance. Occassionally somebody picks a leaf, folds it as a mouth-piece and join the *nāykhĭbājā*, whistling a popular tune. These leaves (*lapte*) are stored in several *Nāy* houses, where they are used to stitch throw-away leaf-cups and plates for sale. *Śhrī Kājīlāl* and his numerous family-members exist entirely on this occupation.

Nāy boy enjoying himself during a private feast

Nāy whistling on a leaf (*lapte*)

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The Nāy-nāyāḥ and their ritual duties

The *Nāy* of Bhaktapur have leaders (*nāyaḥ*) who are most honoured among the butchers. The *nāyaḥ* do not play music, they send their people to play. The title is inherited. The *Mu nāyaḥ* (main *nāyaḥ*) is the leader of the exclusive six. The six *nāyaḥ* are listed here according to their status:

1. *Mu nāyaḥ* : *Sujamān Śāhī* from *Kvāthādau*
2. *Nyemhā nāyaḥ* : *Purna Bahadur Śāhī* from *Kvāthādau*
3. *Svamhā nāyaḥ* : *Mahilā Śāhī* from *Tekhācva*
4. *Pyemhā nāyaḥ* : *Gyān Bahadur Śāhī* from *Galasi pvukhu*
5. *Ṅāmhā nāyaḥ* : *Rāmkājī Śāhī from Jĕlā*
6. *Khumaḥ nāyaḥ* : *Gaṇeś Bahadur Śāhī* from *Itāchē*

The third *nāyaḥ* carries the nickname *Jaybijay Kucinīmhā*, which means, that he is responsible for the job - well done or not - at the *Taleju* temple, where the *nāyaḥ* test the animals and sacrifice them to the goddess. During the 32-36 *thā pūjās* per year one buffalo and two goats are cut for Taleju. Each *nāyah* gets 1 kg of meat in return.

The main sacrifices happen during *dasaĩ*. They are performed by all the six *nāyaḥ* together, wearing their traditional white frocks, belts, and hats (*ghāji nã, jani, phaytā*). On *gatasthāpana* and *pañcamī*, the *nāyaḥ* sacrifice two selected buffaloes (*tisāme*) for *Chumā Gaṇeś*. During the night between *navamī* and *dasamī* they sacrifice twenty-five buffaloes for *Taleju* and carve them up. On the day of *dasamī*, around 11 a.m. , the six *nāyaḥ* leave the inner *Taleju* courtyard, their white robes considerably stained with blood, and are received in the *bekvacukva* courtyard by the respective *nāykhĩbājā*-groups, who have come to lead them home with *bārā dāygu* (return from the *pūjā*). The *nāyaḥ* wait a little in front of the Golden Gate (*lāyku*), while one of them, (this job circulates every year), offers blood and meat to *Indrayaṇī* at her *pīṭh*. Eventually they proceed home, distributing shreds of buffalo meat and flowers to the crowd. These little meat pieces are a powerful remedy against ghosts and evil spirits residing in the houses. The meat is

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grilled on pieces of charcoal until it produces fumes, which the spirits detest.

In return for all the duties, the *Taleju guṭhī* supplies every *nāyaḥ* with 30 *pāṭhī* of rice per year and 25 *gaj* (1 *gaj* = 36 inchess) of white cloth every three years for the traditional dress. The *nāykhĩbājā*-players attending the *dasamī*-procession are rewarded by their leaders with fresh meat and blood.

Nāykhĩbājā escorting the six *nāyaḥ* home (*dasamī* 1986)

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Nāy-nāyaḥ leaving the Golden Gate after a night of butchering (*dasamī* 1986)

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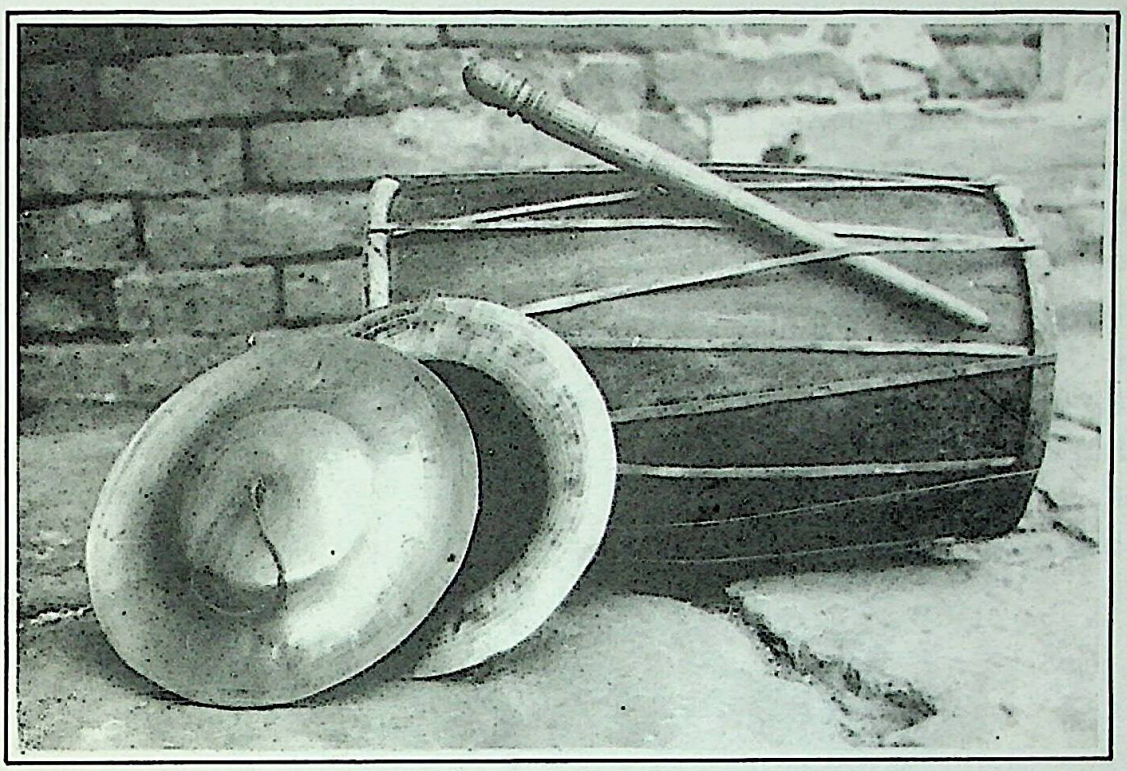
The nāykḥĩ and its construction



Nāykhĩ (length: 35 cm, diameter at the heads: 19 cm) with stick *(kachicā)* and pair of *sichyāḥ* cymbals (diameter: 19 cm)

The *nāykhĩ* is made from a hollowed tree trunk. Its shape varies considerably from cylindrical to barrel shape. One of the two hides carries a tuning paste (*masalā*) inside, which lends this skin a deeper sound-quality than the other one. This hide is generally played with a stick (*kachicā*), occasionally with the fingertip of the right middle finger, producing a rubbing vibrato sound called *vĩ* or *kvĩ*. To get this sound clearly, the hide's surface is prepared with resin and the finger wetted by casually putting it into the mouth.

The drum-head producing the lower sound of the two is called *Nāsaḥ*, the other one *Haimā*. The drum is always kept in such a way that the *Nāsaḥ*-hide faces upwards. This terminology is peculiar for the *Nāy*. All the other Newar musicians, even when they play the *nāykhĩ* in another context (*navabājā*, etc.), apply the terms in the opposite way. When they store the drums, the high-sounding drum-hide (*Nāsaḥ*) faces upwards, the deep-

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sounding one (*Haimā* or *Mākā*) down. If the drum hangs at the wall, the *Haimā* hide must face either towards the ceiling or towards the closest wall. This method of keeping drums is strictly observed by everybody. The esoteric reason, however, is generally not known.

A German geomantic, Mr. Peter Hess, tested all my Newar drums with his subtle methods (dowsing rod and pendulum). He confirmed that, indeed, extremely low energies of opposite qualities are continuously emitted by the two drum heads. The one emitted by the higher-pitched head is beneficial for human beings, the other one not. Thus the traditional storing method for drums helps to attain a beneficial atmosphere. Yet, the *Nāy* are employing the converse method of storing the *nāykhī*. The reason for this remains obscure. We are guessing, however that there may be a direct connection between this deliberate unleashing of destructive energies with the drum, and with the professional occupation of the butchers as experts in killing and slaughtering.

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Bhaktapur's drum-maker, *Śrī Bil Bahadur Kulu*, demonstrated the construction of the two *nāykhĩ* hides. The following photo series illustrates this hand-breaking process.

gvaḥ (body of the drum) made of *cāsĩ* or *jhvāle cvābva* wood (diameter at both ends: 19 cm)

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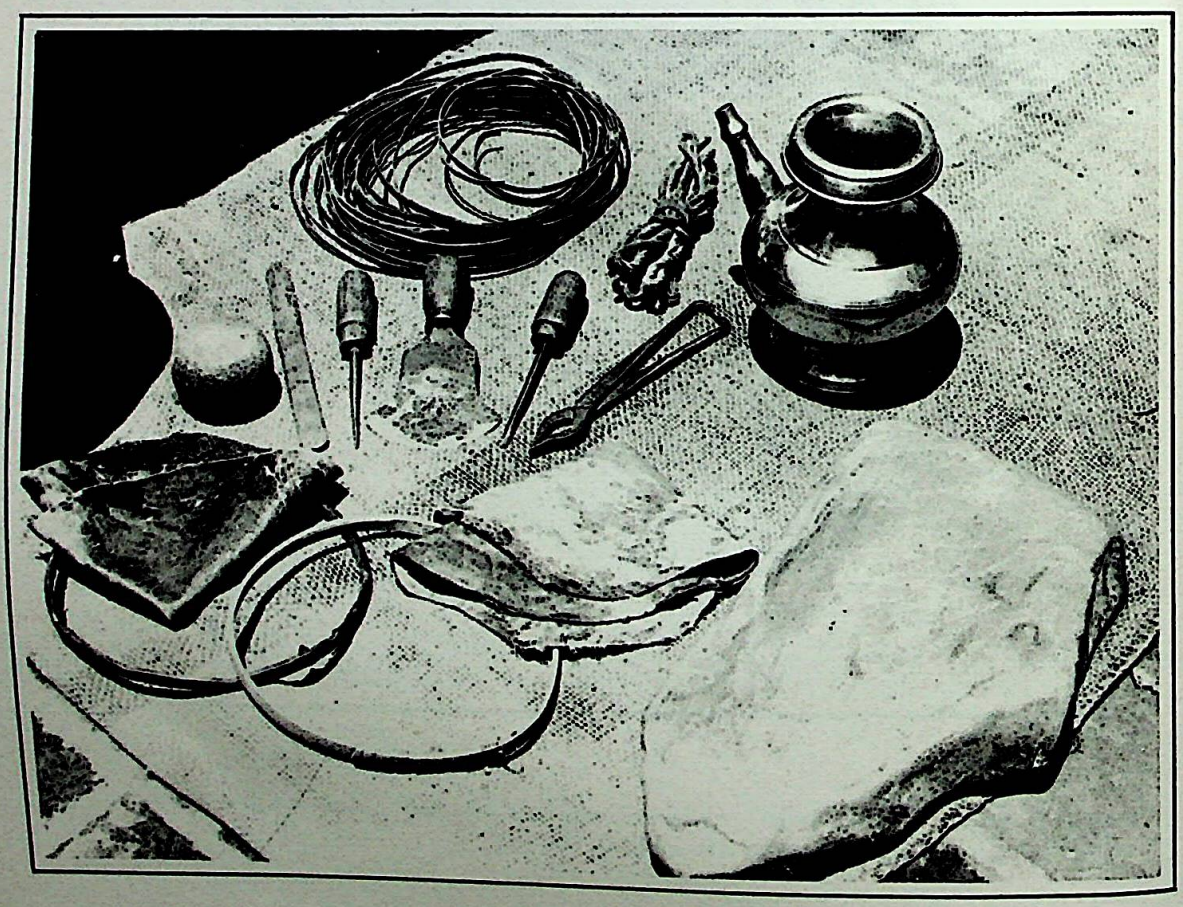
Tools of the Kulu

1st row (left to right) : *Nāsah*-hide (*chẽgu*), of the cow, with ring (*pvatā*)
Haimā-hide (*chẽgu*), of the female goat, with ring (*pvatā*)
flat stone (*lvahā*) for tool sharpening

2nd row : stone hammer (*lvahā*)
flat bamboo piece (*benā*)
hole piercing awl (*pvāḥ khanegu ācā*)
blade (*lapi*)
flat awl (*gvaḥgu ācā*)
pliers (*chālicā*)

3rd row : leather string (*tẽ bālā*)
cotton string (*kākhipaḥ*)
water pot (*karuvā*)



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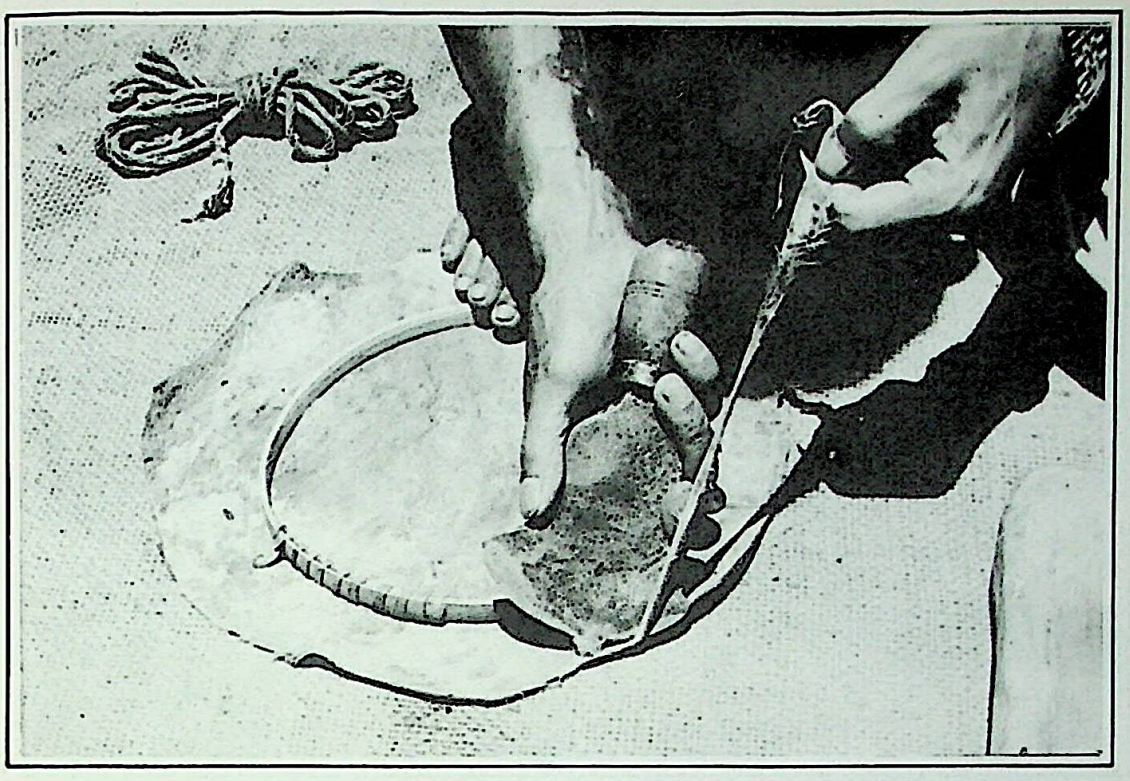
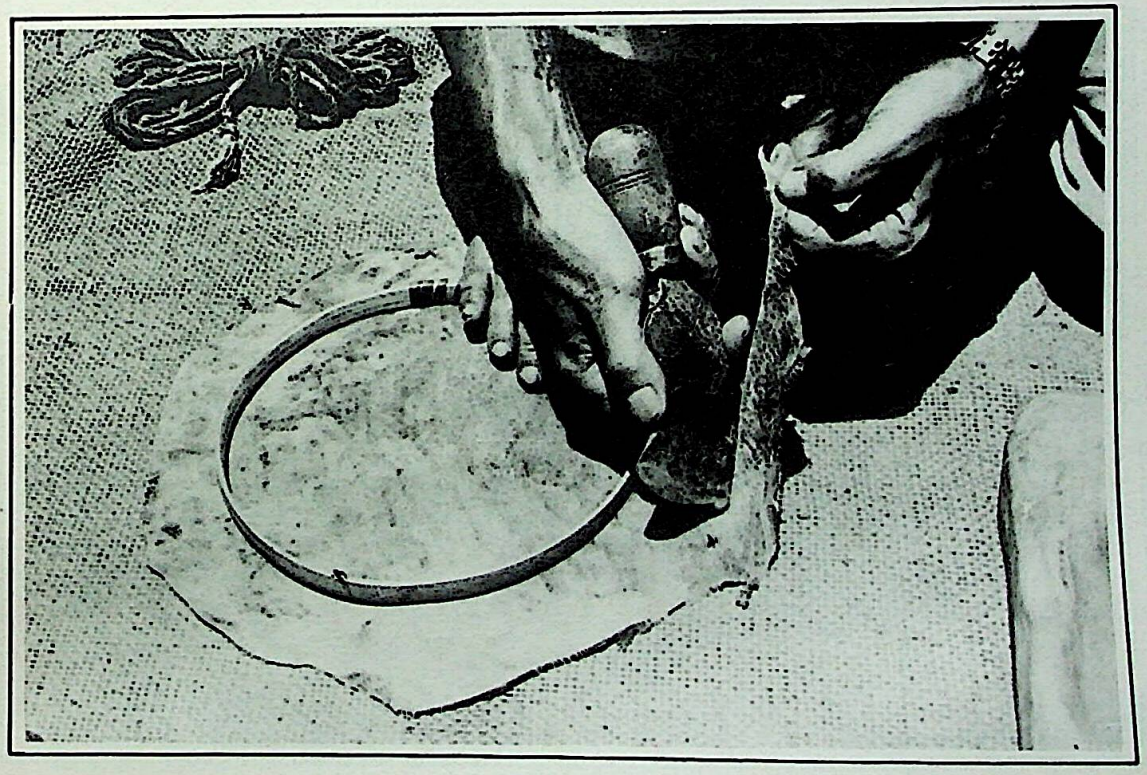


Cutting the wetted *Haimā*-hide into shape *(cāḥ lakegu* or *cāḥ utigĕkegu)*



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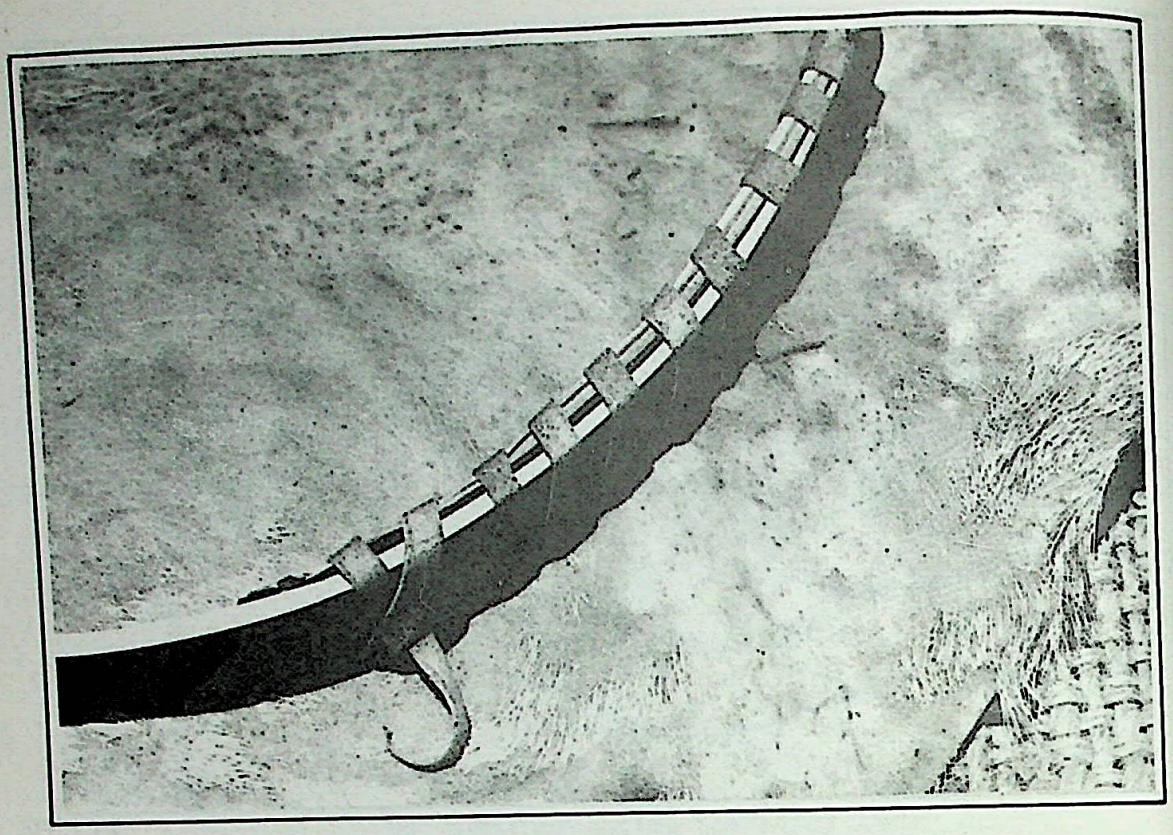
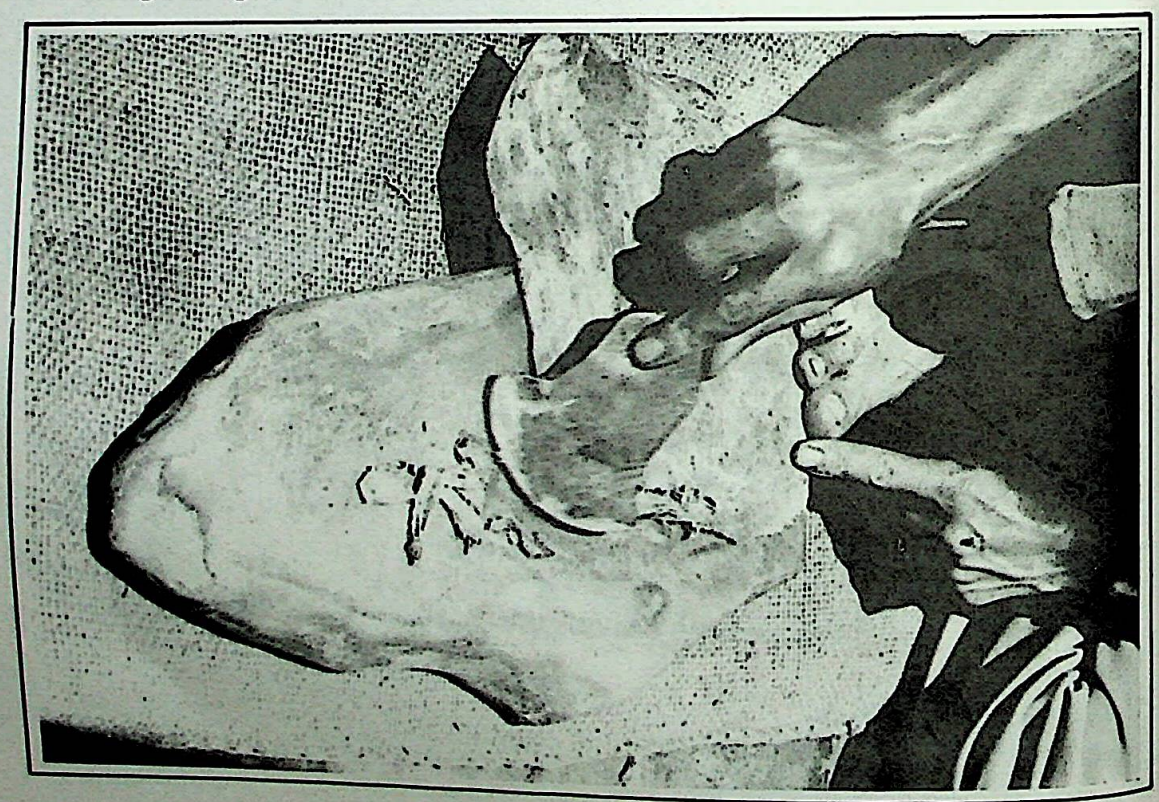


Binding the cane ring *(pvatā)* with a leather string *(pvatā cīgu)*

Cleaning the *Haimā*-hide *(chĕgu)* with the blade *(chĕgu pīgu* or *chĕgu svigu)*



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Jacketing the *pvatā* with the help of the *benā (pvatā tulegu)*

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Fitting the *Haimā*--hide on to the drum *(Haimā jukegu)*

Cutting the wetted *Nāsaḥ*-hide into shape *(cāḥ lakegu* or *cāḥ utigẽkegu)*

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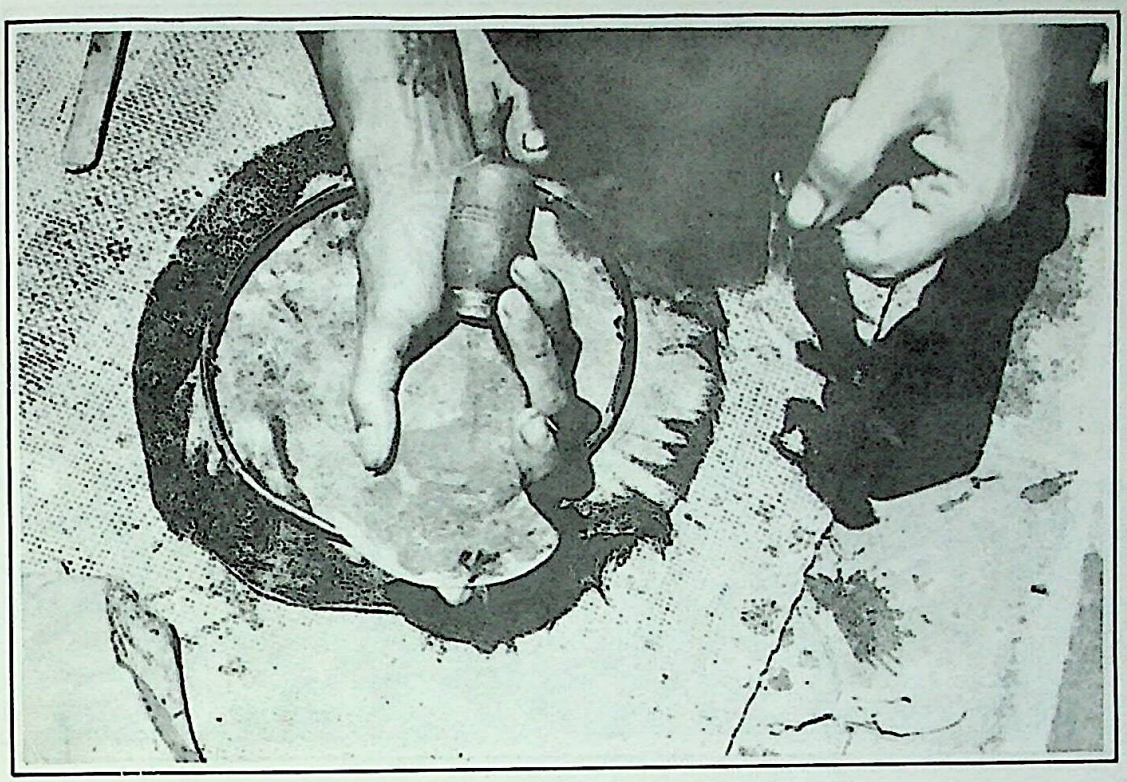

Cleaning the *Nāsaḥ*-hide *(chĕgu pīgu* or *chẽgu svigu)*

Sharpening the *lapi*

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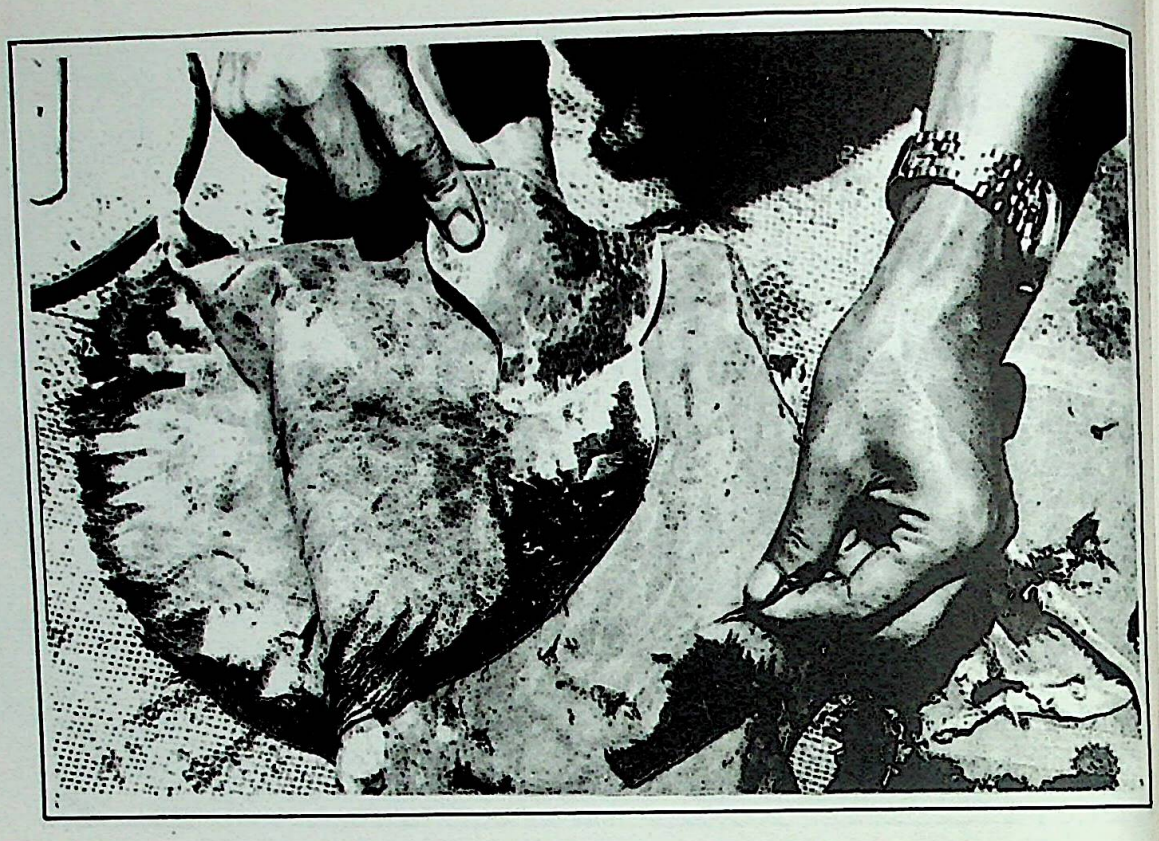
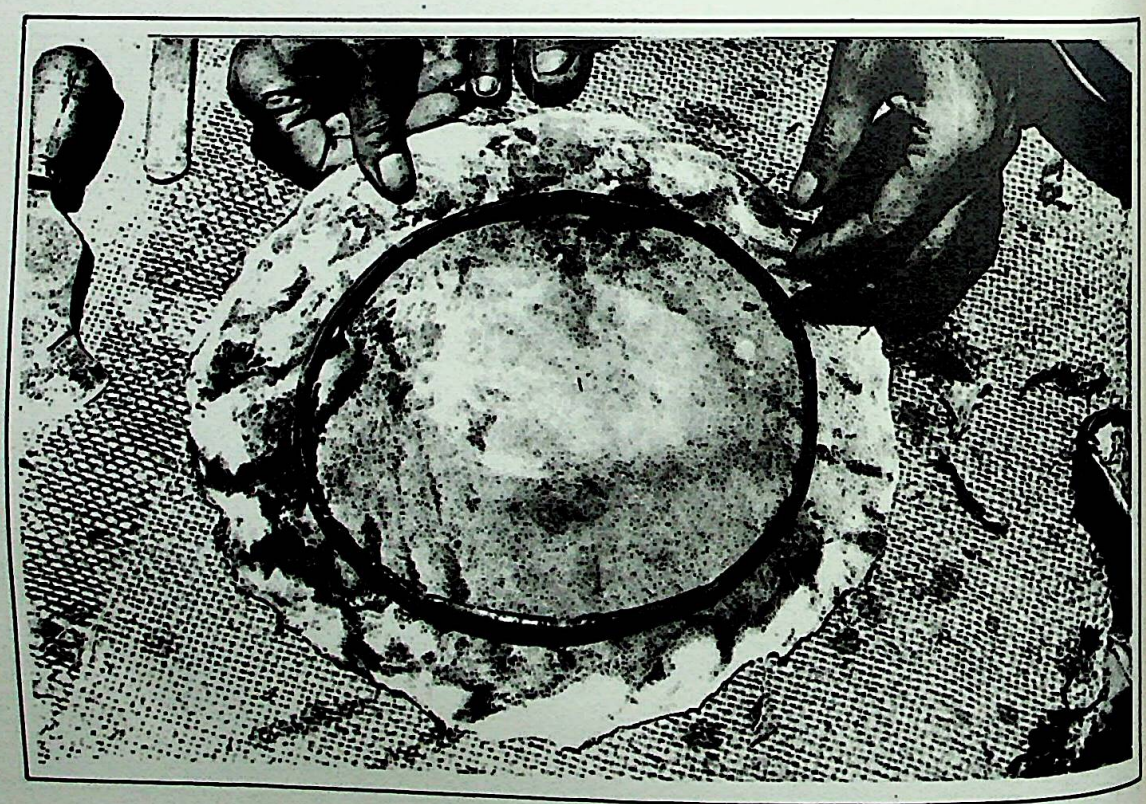


Cleaning the *Nāsaḥ*-hide *(chĕgu pīgu* or *chĕgu svigu)*

Checking the shape of the cleaned *Nāsah*-hide



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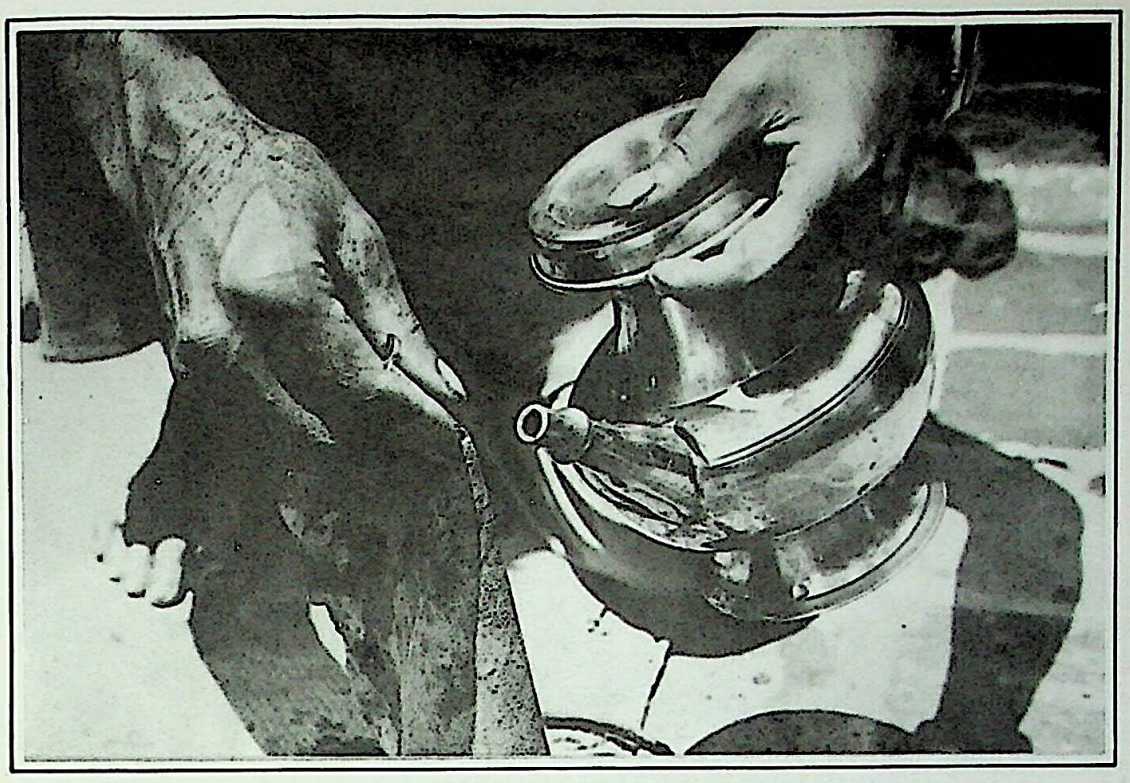
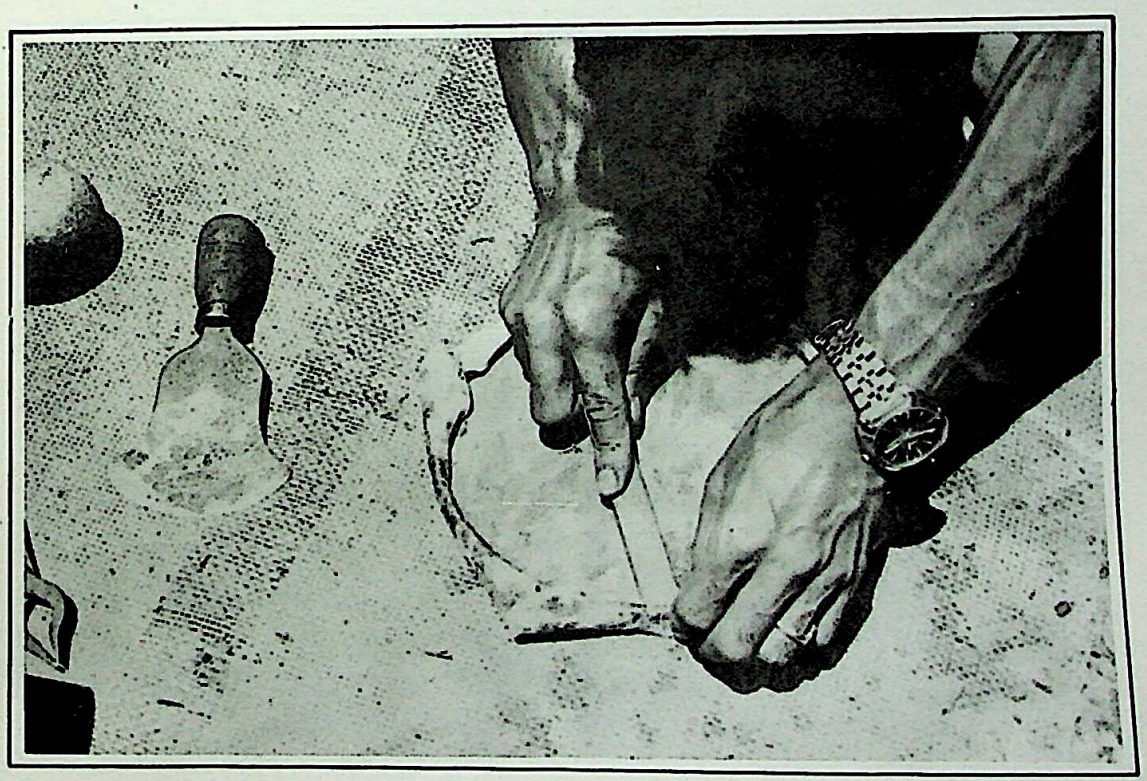


Wetting the *Nāsaḥ*-hide *(chĕgu phvaygu)* for jacketing

Jacketing the *pvatā (pvatā tulegu)*



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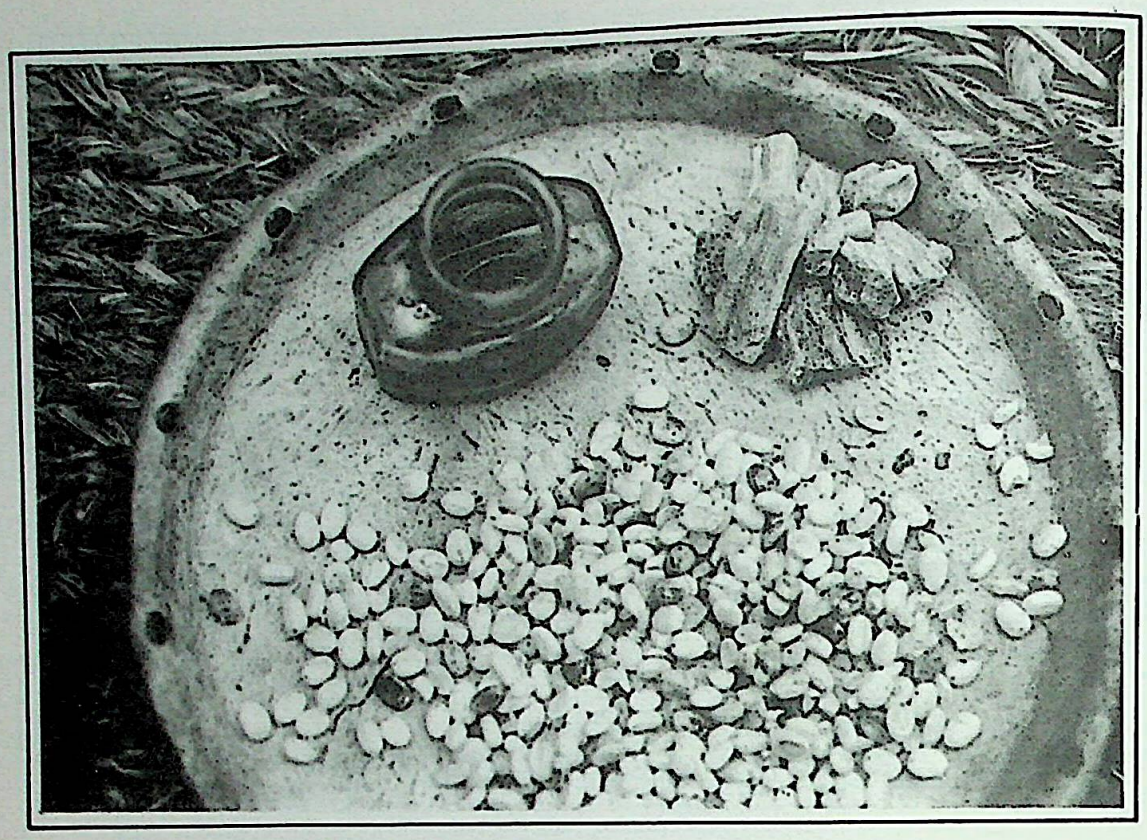

The three components of the tuning-paste *(masalā)*: mustard oil *(cikā)*, resin from the *sāl* tree *(sāl dhūp)*, and castor-seeds *(alapu)*

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Crushing and grinding the resin *(sāl dhūp)* with the help of a round stone *(lvahã)*

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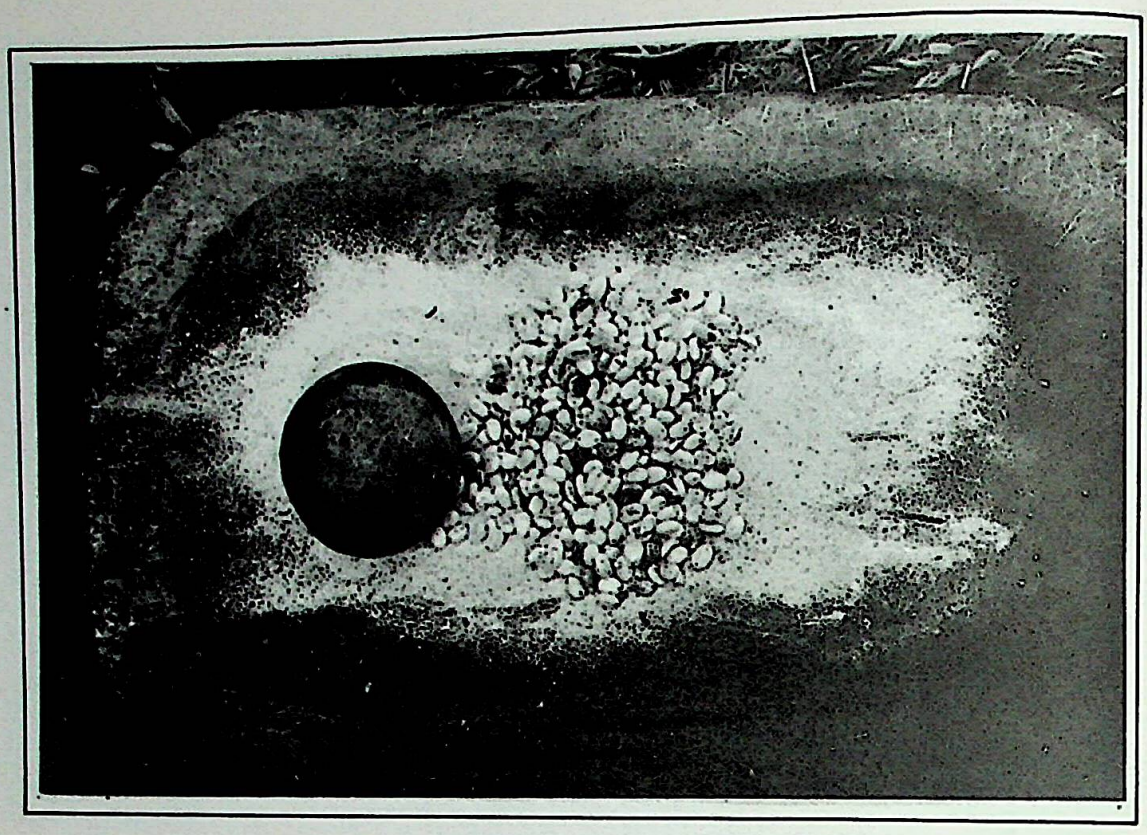

Crushing and grinding the castor-seeds *(alapu)*

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Adding the mustard oil *(cikā)*

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Mixing the three components throughly, until the *masalā* becomes sticky and glutinous

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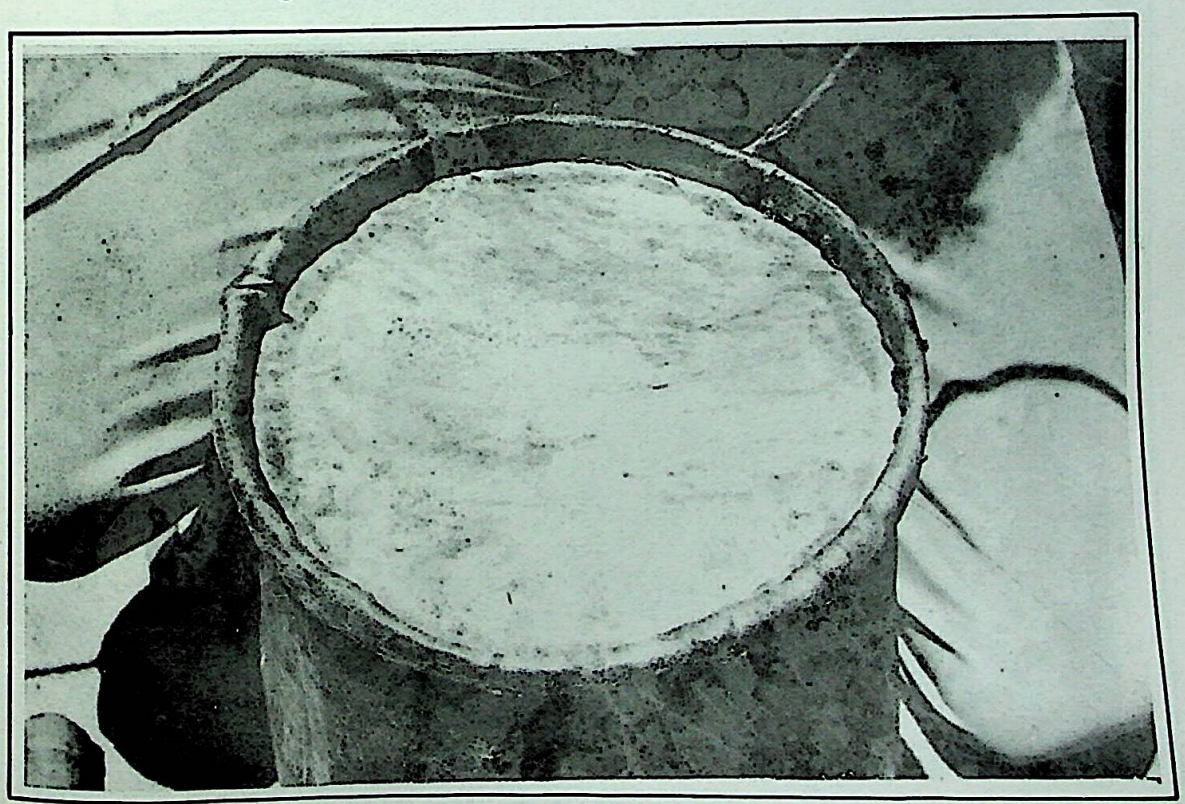
Putting the *masalā*-paste on the *Nāsaḥ*-hide *(masalā taygu* or *masalā ilegu)*

Fitting the *Haimā*-hide on to the drum *(haimā jukegu)*



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Tying both the drum hides *(nikhẽ kākegu)* with string

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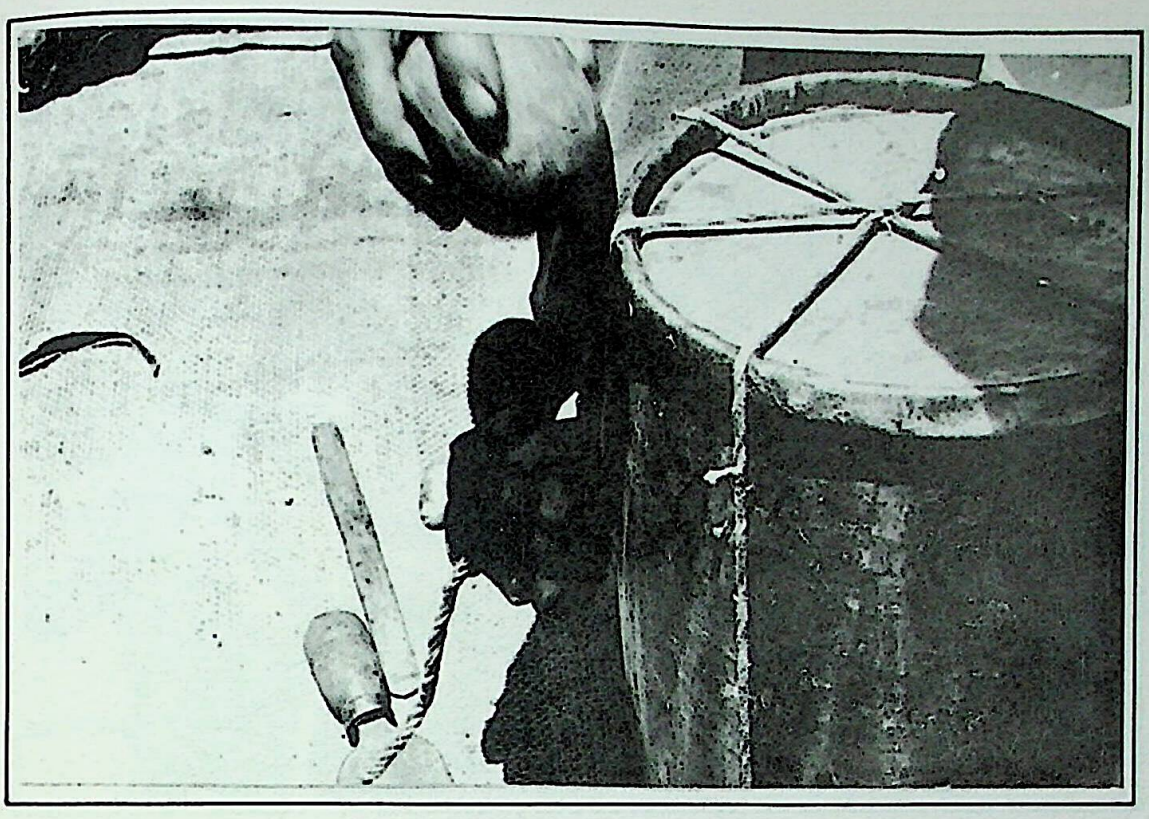
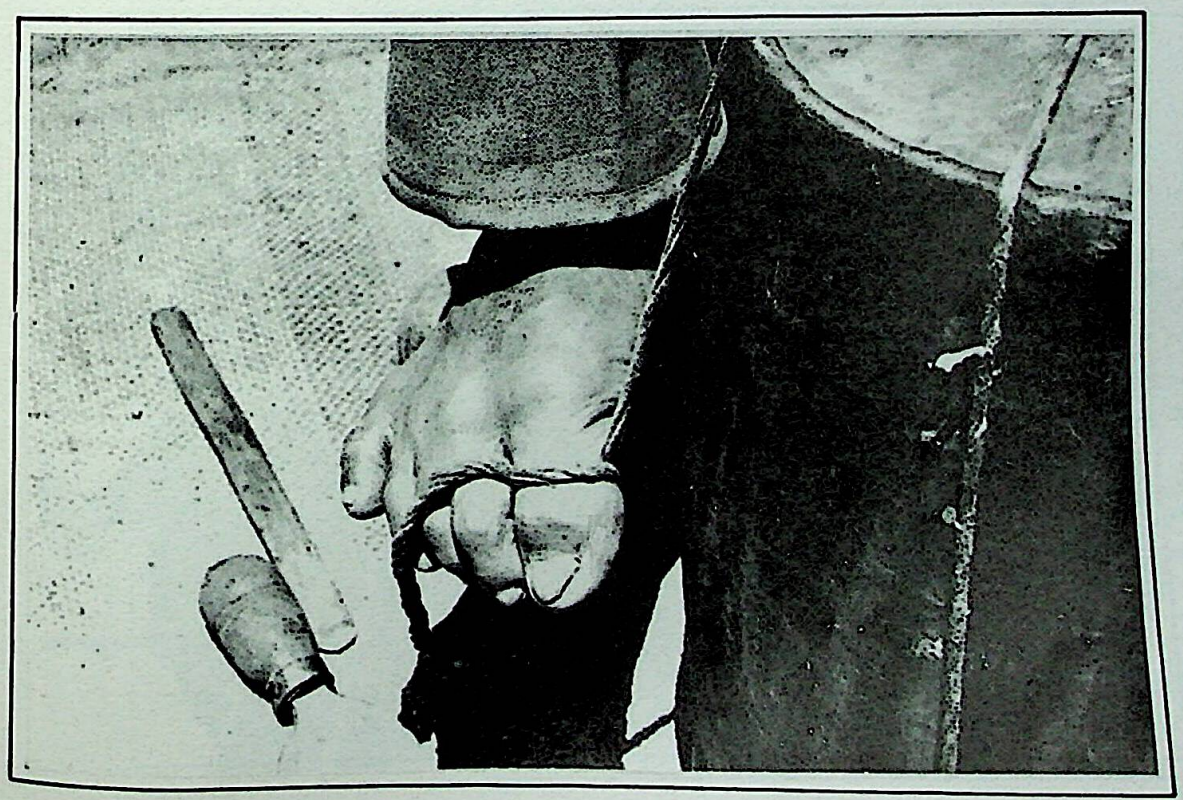


Tying both the drum hides *(nikhẽ kākegu)*

Tightening the string with the help of the toe *(tutĩ kākāḥ tāygu)*



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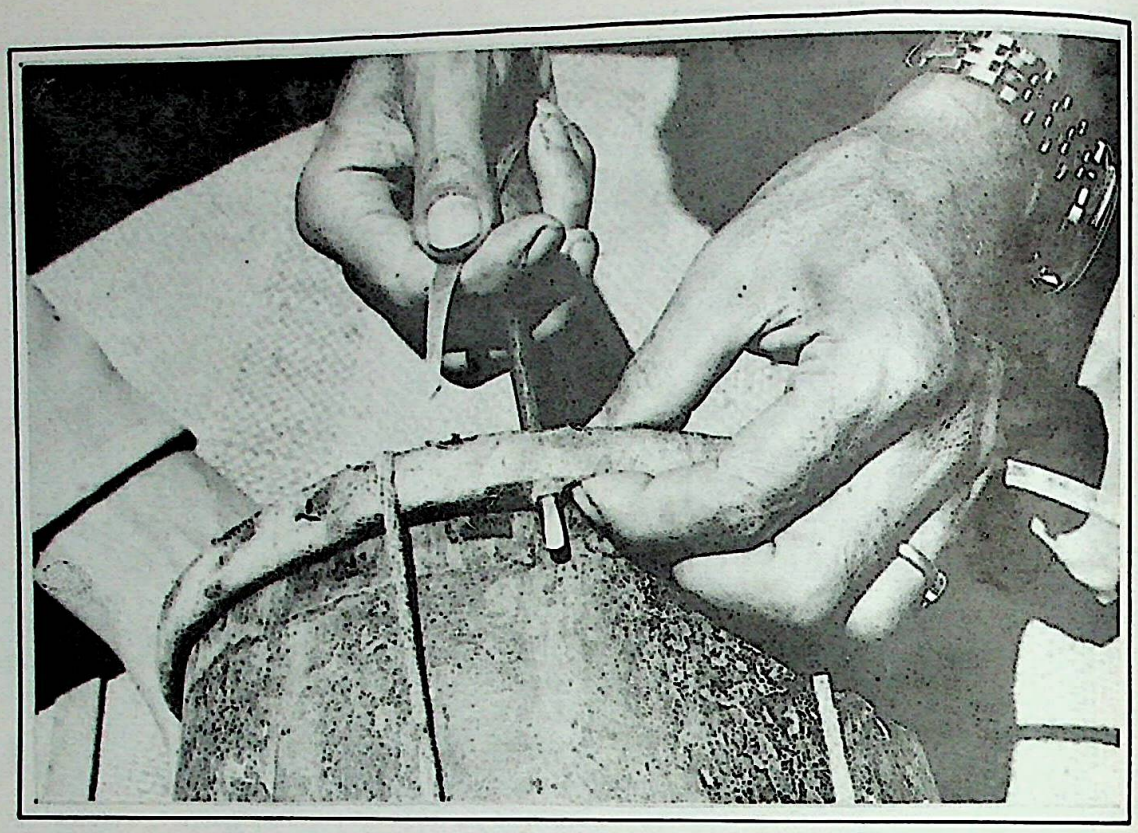
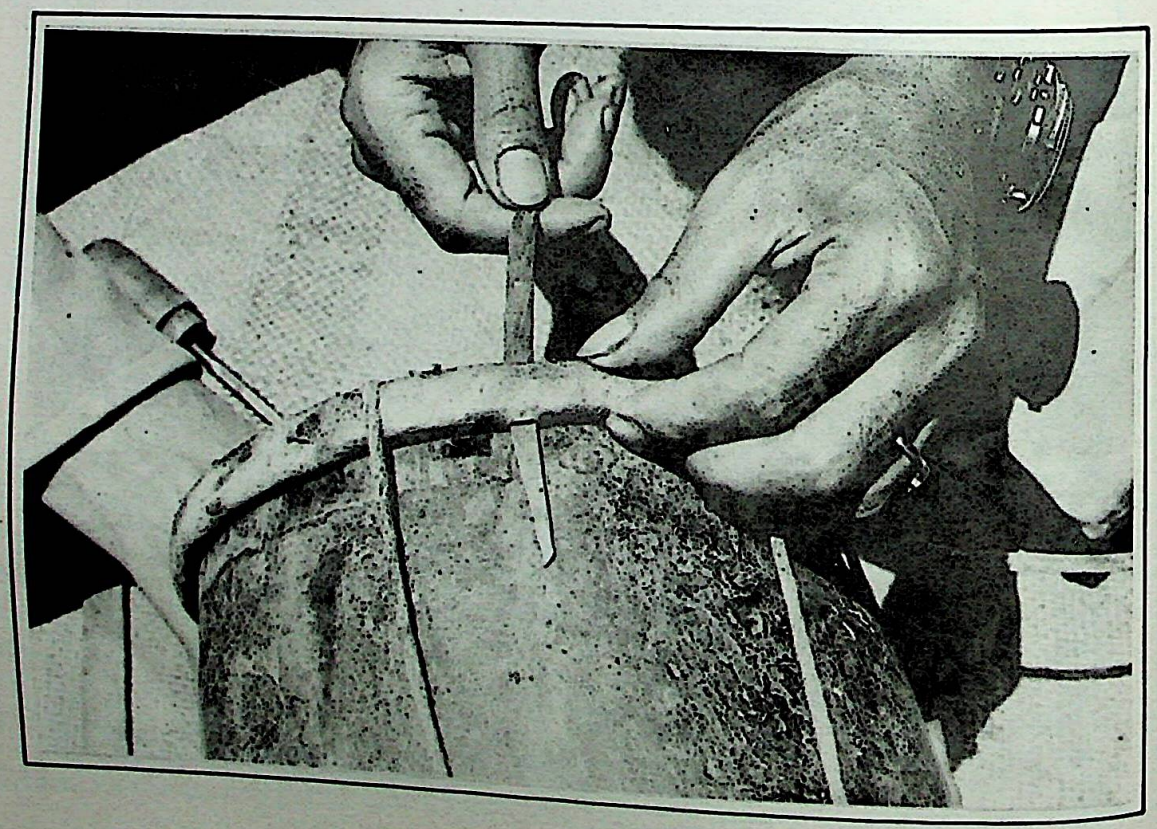


Piercing twelve holes *(pvāḥ khanegu)* and putting the leather strap *(tă bālā)* through them one by one



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Connecting the two *pvatā* with the leather strap *(pvatā kvakāygu)* and balancing the tension

Piercing the remaining holes and putting the strap through them *(pvāḥ khanāḥ tẽ tayāḥ cvãgu)*

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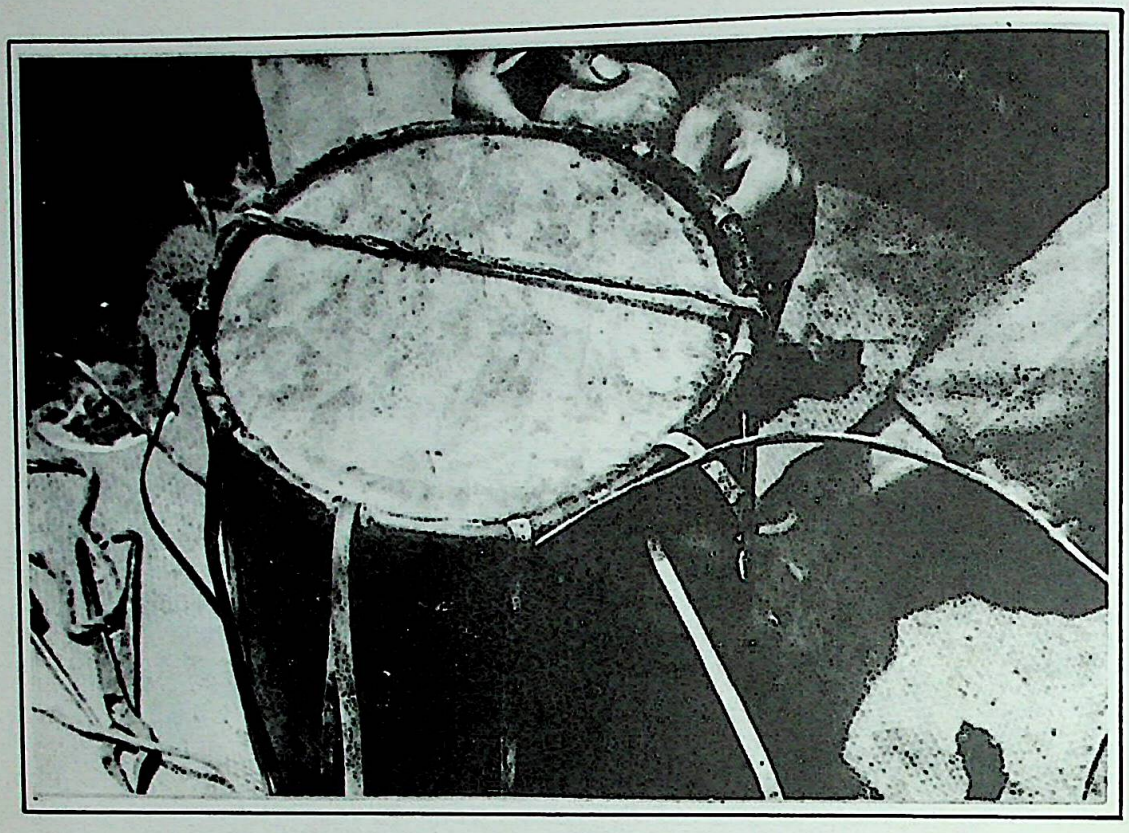

Levelling the drum-hides with the hammer *(cāḥ māthã vãkugu)* and tightening the strap *(tã sāḥgu)*

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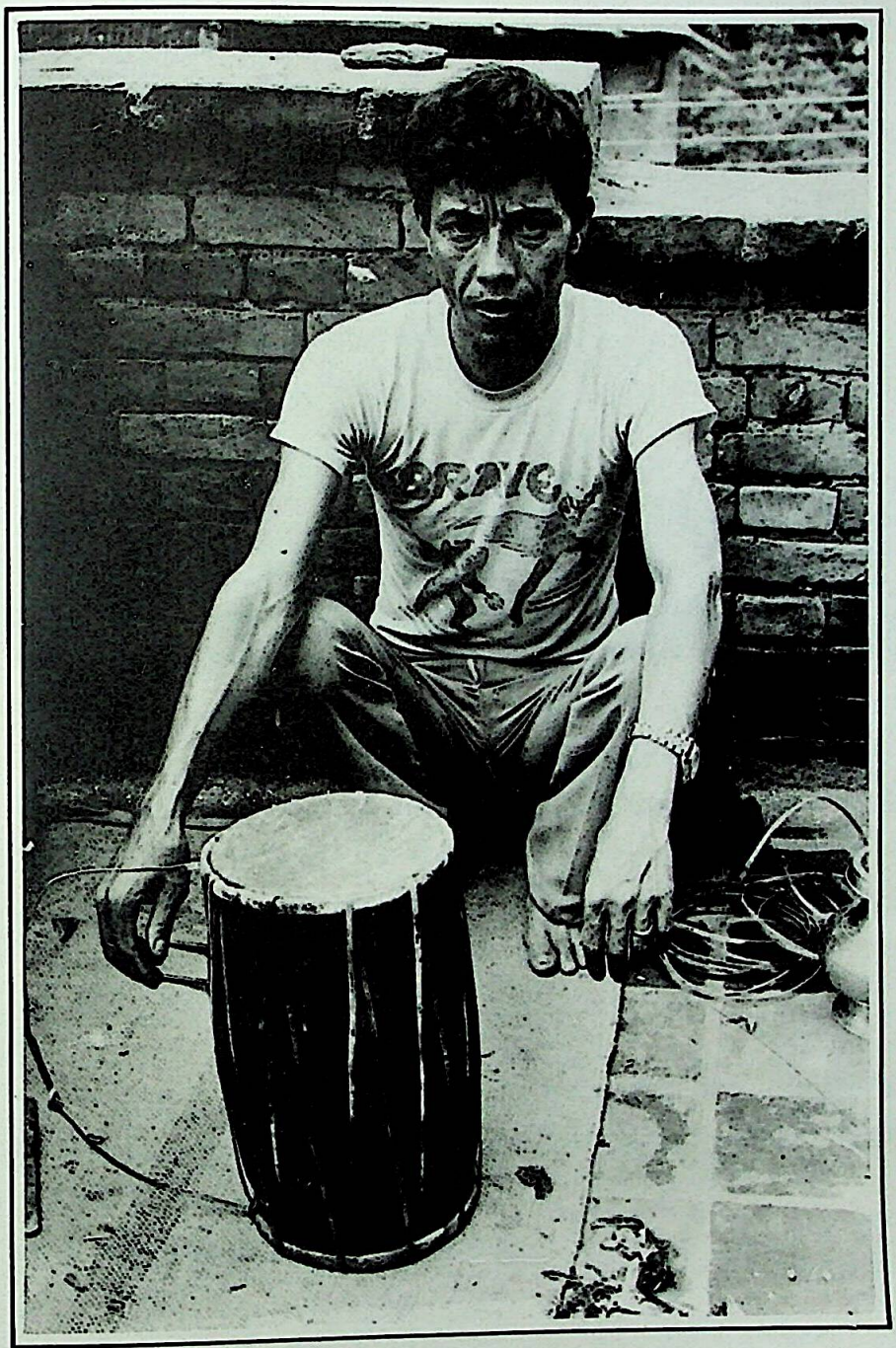
The work is complete. The *nāykhĩ* is drying in the sun *(nibhālay pāḥgu)*, while the *Kulu*, Sri Kul Bahadur, is relaxing.



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During the working process the *Kulu* has to use his feet to support the drum, which the gods, who are invoked through the music, might take as an offence. So, an excuse *pūjā* (*chemā pūjā*) is still performed by some drum-makers after the completion of their work. The *pūjā* requirements are usually supplied by the customer.

Śrī Bil Bahadur does this only for the sole *dyaḥkhĩ* existing in Bhaktapur, the drum of the *Navadurgā*. This most sacred instrument has to be repaired every year on the day of *Gaṇeś cauthī*, before *Indra jātrā* (August/September). It requires a *Mākā*-hide of the female *yāk* and a *Nāsaḥ*-hide of the cow. For this job, the *Kulu* gets annually 10 *kuruvā* of rice. Until about a decade ago, the *Navadurgā* supplied him with a chicken for the performance of the *chemā pūjā*, and invited him for a meal (*samay baji*). Those generous days are gone. Nowdays the *Kulu* does the *pūjā* on his own behalf. He offers an egg to the *Navadurgā* to avoid their divine displeasure.

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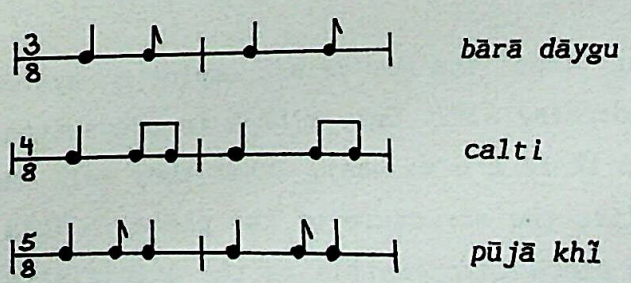
The playing techniques of sichyāḥ and nāykhĩ

The *sichyāḥ*-cymbals supply the typical shallow brass-sound for *nāykhĩbājā*. The player holds them loosely to facilitate a long and only partly dampened vibration. To produce the desired sound quality, he has to lift the outer fingers of his hands, and strike the cymbals gently in a swaying manner, with the right hand moving up and the left hand down. With this playing technique the untimely breaking of the precious instruments can be avoided.

The art of *sichyāḥ*-making is extinct in Kathmandu Valley. Occasionally, copies with an inferior sound quality reach the local markets in Kathmandu and Patan.

The patterns played with *sichyāḥ* are:



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The *sichyāḥ* player has to support the *nāykhĩ* drummer, and has to adjust his strokes accordingly. To do this effectively, he has to know the compositions as well as the drummer. He even has to sense the change of a pattern, before it actually happens. This cannot be described in words. It can only be taught practically.

When played by the *Nāy*, the *nāykhĩ* produces six different sounds, four single sounds and two combination sounds:

pā The *Haimā* hide (higher pitch) is approached by the flat left hand, with slightly spread, but relaxed fingers. Occassionally, *pa* indicates a very soft *pā*.

dã The right hand holds the stick loosely between index finger and thumb, and strikes at the center of the *Nāsaḥ* hide (lower pitch, with *masalā* inside), which throws the stick back. Occasionally, *da* indicates a very soft *dã*. In rapid successions, *dã* can be replaced by *na*, offering an easier pronunciation.

thu The stick is locked with the palm. It strikes at the center and dampens the *Nāsaḥ* hide instantly.

vĩ The rapidly moistened middle finger of the right hand is supported by the thumb and rubs with its tip across the *Nāsaḥ* hide. The forearm with the extended thumb 'shoves' the middle finger ahead. If the sound is not produced, the hide needs rubbing with resin and breathing over a few times.

kvĩ a combination of *pā* and *vĩ*

dhã a combination of *pā* and *dã*

It is astonishing that the *Nāy* do not employ a system of drumming syllables as a memorizing aid. Only *sībājā* is transmitted with the help of syllables. But there are so many, that they veil the composition, rather than revealing the structure of the piece. This seems to be an attempt to make the piece inaccessible to the uninitiated.

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When Kājīlāl started to teach me the first piece, *pūjā khĩ*, he tried to invent a few syllables, which did not correspond at all with the beats. Finally, I had to invent a system of syllables, based on those which are already used in the *navabājā*- and *gũlābājā*-repertoire of *nāykhĩ*. With this system it was possible to note down the compositions and at the same time convey the actual sounds of the drum and the related playing techniques.

In our teaching sessions, Kājīlāl kept playing the pieces over and over again, until I was able to copy him to his satisfaction. As he remembers compositions as a whole and not as a chain consisting of different segments, it was impossible for him to repeat a certain pattern slowly for the sake of grasping it easily. He had to play the complete piece again from the beginning and at full speed. With the longer compositions, i.e. *calti* and *sībājā*, this method can be very time-consuming. The only solution is complete concentration. As I was already able to play *nāykhĩ* before this apprenticeship started, Kājīlāl's habit of always playing at full speed could not discourage me. But for a new drumming student, the lack of a proper teaching method based on drumming syllables, must be a major obstacle. However, the inability to isolate a pattern from the organic whole of a complex piece, seems to be common with quite a few Newar drummers.

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The notation

The *nāykhĩbājā* repertoire is presented here in two different systems of notation, i.e. Western staff notation, which gives a clear and rather abstract picture of the anatomy of the music, and an oriental notation of drumming syllables, which allows the reader to imitate the sounds of the drum with his own voice; just like any Newar player would do while memorizing his repertoire. This oriental system of notation is a modified version of the one developed by Nikhil Ghosh (1968). It can be applied for any kind of Newar drumming (see Wegner 1986), and allows the reader to read the drumming syllables with exact rhythm.

The drumming syllables are written in a system of boxes indicating the time measurement which is called *mātrā* in Indian music theory. Each box is divided into two by a horizontal line. If there is only one beat per *mātrā*, the syllable is written into the upper box. If there is a *mātrā* without a beat, the sign 0 stands for a sounding rest. If there is a half *mātrā* rest, the sign θ is applied.

Thus,

dã	pã	da	pã
	na	na	na

reads as */dã /pāna/dana/pāna/*

and

da	pã	θ	pã	0	pã	θ	pã
na	dã	dã			dã	dã	dṛka

reads as */dana/pādã/ 0 dã/pā /*
/0 /pādã/ 0 dã/pādṛka/

The pair of brackets { } indicates that the part included has to be repeated. A number above the closing bracket shows how many times that part is to be played. Sometimes, instead of a number, the expression ad lib. (shortcut from Latin ad libitum) leaves it up to the player, how many times to repeat.

If a section is to be repeated not completely, but only up to a certain point, this point is marked by the symbol ⌐, and an arrow leads the

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reader to the line where the repetition starts. ⌜ does not mean an interruption of the playing. The line below the arrow has to follow immediately.

A small, wave-like arrow above the syllable *kvĩ* indicates the change of the pitch (up and down) caused by the middle finger rubbing across the *Nāsaḥ*-hide.

Usually, every three or four *mātrā* a vertical line connects all the systems of a page. These divisions follow the cycle of *sichyāḥ*, which keeps repeating every three or four *mātrā*.

In the Western staff notation, only the upper, middle, and lower line are used.

lower line : *dã, da, na* (undampened *Nāsaḥ*-hide)
middle line : *thu, vĩ* (dampened *Nāsaḥ*-hide)
upper line : *pā, pa* (*Haimā*-hide)

One quaver corresponds with one *mātrā* of the oriental notation. The bar-lines frame one cycle of *sichyāḥ*.

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The repertoire

The *nāykhĩbājā* repertoire is comparatively small but excellent. It covers a wider range of expression than any other processional music and fulfils the demands of the various rituals very well. Even the more elementary pieces *pūjā khĩ*, *bārā dāygu*, *bāre khĩ*,reveal the touch of the masters who conceived these patterns. Without exception the origin of the pieces is ancient and original Newar.

There is not a single reminiscence of any other musical style or influence. The *nāykhĩbājā* repertoire remained untouched and unique, which is quite unusual, as most of the other forms of Newar music frequently borrow from each other's repertoire. It is not an exceptional versatility, as for instance, Bhāju Ganesh Bahadur Sijakhva from *Yāchẽ* plays *dhimay* and *dhã́* in processions, *lālākhĩ* with his *dāphā*-group, and *sichyāḥ* with the *navabājā*. Naturally, all these different forms meet in his mind, and he may feel tempted to transfer an appealing pattern from one drum to the other, - which he actually did (see Wegner 1986). But being a *Jyāpu* implies that the *nāykhĩbājā* repertoire is inaccessible. Musicians of other castes never mix with the *Nāy* to the extent of becoming acquainted with their music, and vice versa. Besides, the ominous reputation of *sībājā* is quite a repellent to any outsider's curiosity.

SĪBĀJĀ

Sībājā, the death music, has been conceived to accompany the deceased from their houses to the respective burning place (i.e. *Bramayānī ghāṭ*, *Hanumān ghāṭ*, *Cupĩ ghāṭ*). It closely corresponds with the different stages of the processional route. Significantly, new patterns emerge at localities related to the other-world, the realm of the departed souls. Furthermore, the emotional impact of the music irresistably links the minds of the participants with the beyond, transports them into abysmal sadness, confronts them with eternity. This goes far beyond an awe-inspiring aesthetic experience. It literally kills everyday consciousness. Pure void permeating existence.

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Sībājā is structured into the following sequences:

A B C
A B D E
A B
A D F

Each section - symbolized by a capital letter - is repeated as many times as is required to reach the next locality indicating a change to the following pattern.

A is set in a slow, hesitant 3- beat metre giving a suitable pace to the procession.

B starts with a lively 4-beat metre which dies abruptly in a series of wails, produced by the rubbing sound *kvĭ*.

C returns to the 3-beat metre of A, now intensified by continuous wails.

D (derived from *cvaykegu* and set in 4 *mātrā*), exhausts itself in hectic monotony.

E picks up again the slow 3-beat metre of A and C and employs mainly soft, whispering, lifeless strokes of the left hand.

F is called *diyegu* and is applied as a standard stopping phrase in *sībājā*, *cvaykegu*, and *pūjā khĭ*. With its odd metre it effectively cuts off the preceding pattern.

The following chart shows the relationship of the *sībājā*-patterns with the localities passed by the death-processions. All the processions develop along completely parallel lines (see map 2, p.59).

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The relationship of the *sībājā*-patterns with the localities passed by the death-processions

pattern	procession heading for *Cupĩ ghāṭ*	procession heading for *Bramayānī ghāṭ*
A	from the house up to *Cvachẽ chvāsaḥ* (major street crossing)	from the house up to *Dattātreya chvāsaḥ* (major street crossing)
B	up to *Sukul dhvakā chvāsaḥ* (major street crossing)	up to *Sujamādhi chvāsaḥ* (major street crossing)
C	up to *Kvachẽ chvāsaḥ* (major street crossing)	up to the foundation stones of Bhaktapur's ancient town gate (the town ends here)
A	up to *Calāku chvāsaḥ* (major street crossing)	up to *Khyaḥ pvukhu*, a pond serving as a bottom-wash. after obeying nature's call
B	up to *Durgā pīṭh*	up to *Dyaḥ Ilācā Gaṇeś* pīṭh
D	up to the lane leading to *Badrakālī pīṭh*	up to Bramayāṇī khyaḥ, burying site for infants (*mimapvumā mācā*)
E	passing this road crossing	up to the path leading down to the river bank (*Bramayāṇī ghāṭ kvahã vānegu lãcā*)
A	up to *sītātāpvucā*-bridge	crossing the *Bramayāṇī*-bridge
B	up to the path leading down to the funeral site; the *nāykhĩbājā* group stops here	up to *Bramayāṇī pīṭh*; the *nāykhĩbājā* group stops at the Southeastern corner of the pīṭh
A	The body is laid down. Everybody washes his face with river water and offers water to the deceased one. His eldest son chases the evil spirits away with his performance of *pret śraddha*. The body is lifted again, and the procession circulates the funeral pyre three timess. The body is laid down on the pyre, the head facing East.	
D	The eldest son of the deceased starts the fire by putting the straw torch at the head of the corpse.	
F	The music stops. The relatives wait at the *phalicā*. A few *guṭhī* members watch the body turning into ashes.	

Finally some ashes are carried into the river with a bunch of straw. The procession returns without music.

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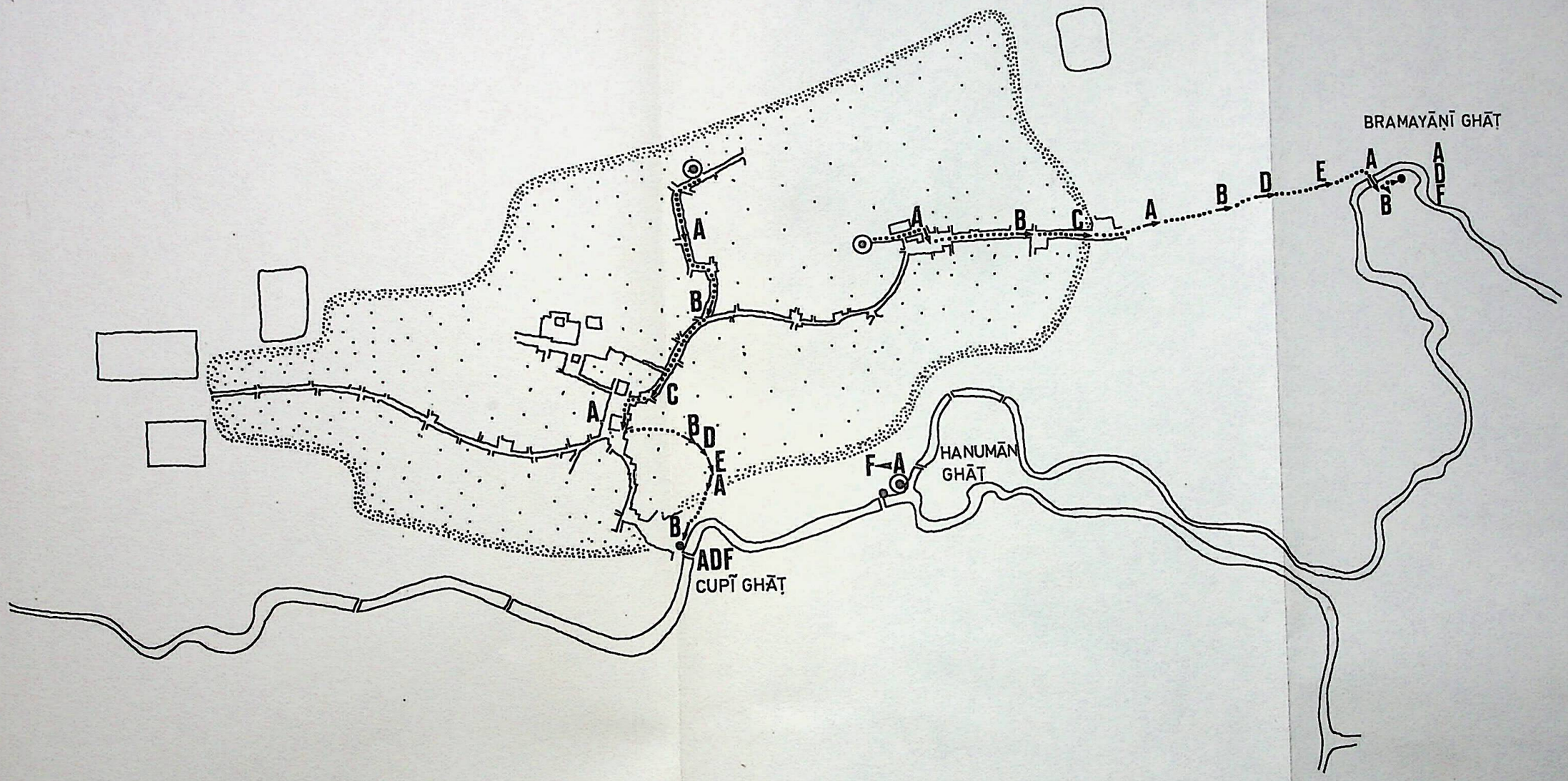

BHAKTAPUR: SEQUENCE OF SĪBĀJĀ

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map 2

Bhaktapur

The sequence of *sībājā* (A-F) accompanying the *Nāy* death processions to the three cremation sites at *Bramayāṇī ghāṭ*, *Hanumān ghāṭ*, and *Cupī ghāṭ*. Depending on the location of the deceased's house, the procession ends either at *Bramayāṇī* or at *Cupī ghāṭ*. If a person wishes to await his death at *Hanumān ghāṭ*, he is carried there.

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Seven days later follows the ritual of *nhenumā biyegu*. The *Jugi* receives an offering of rice, dal, egg, dried fish, and peabread, and performs a *pūjā* for the soul of the deceased at the door of his (the *Jugi*'s) home. At midnight a meal is offered to the deceased by his relatives and put on the *Kumār* stone in front of their house. The dogs come and devastate the offering. Their barking is the sign to pick up the remnants and throw them into the river.

After ten days follows the purification rite *dũ byẽkegu*, in which the *sībājā*-players participate. It includes shaving, nail-cutting, bathing in the river, drying the body at a straw fire, and receiving sacred water which is sprinkled thrice over the head by the ritual specialist (either a *Bajrāchārya* or *Khusaḥ*).

After thirteen (or forty-five) days a *śraddhā* is performed by a *Khusaḥ* from Patan. All participants of the procession are served an elaborate meal, which is the reward for the musicians.

CVAYKEGU

This piece employs only two short and similar patterns. With their hectic monotony they immediately catch everybody's attention, which is exactly the purpose of *cvaykegu* (announcing). The piece ends with *diyegu*.

DYAḤLHĀYGU

Serving as an invocation of *Nāsaḥdyaḥ* and other gods, this piece is played at the beginning and end of every performance of *nāykhĩbājā*, except *sībājā*. *Dyaḥlhāygu* is structured

A A B
C C B
D D B

and ends with a long *vĩ*-wail.

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PŪJĀ KHĨ

This piece employs two alternating patterns set in the rare five beat metre. It signals: 'Approaching the place of ritual action' and ends with *diyegu*.

BĀRĀ DĀYGU

Setting a slow and festive pace, this piece signals: 'Returning from a ritual event'.

BĀRE KHĨ

Starting with a rather pompous phrase, this piece sets a slow and subdued pace for the Buddhist processions, where it accompanies the *Dipãkara* Buddha from *Kvāthãdau*.

CALTI

This delightful piece accumulates a multitude of enjoyable rhythms, which are organized in small sections. Though notated here in a definite succession, these sections are usually combined on the spot and according to the wish of the drummer. Only the starting section is defined by the slower tempo. This version was taught to me by *Kājīlāl*, but whenever he plays the piece in public, he alters it.

Most of the Bhaktapur players are not able to play *calti* to *Kājīlāl*'s technical standard. They deliberately leave out a few strokes in order to reach the necessary speed. With some players, the piece is not even recognizable. It requires virtuosity and stamina and a superb sense of organization.

Usually the listeners cannot resist the joyful impact of the music. Their bodies start dancing, and they forget themselves. This irresistable effect of *calti* is gladly intensified with the help of a little *aylā* (home-made liquor).

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Appendix One: The nāykhĩbājā-groups in detail

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The nine *nāykhĩbājā* groups of Bhaktapur are listed here according to their location from East to West. Information is given about the instruments, players, group members, gods worshipped during the apprenticeship, performances and other duties, and salary.

1) *Jĕlā nāykhĩbājā*

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Kājilāl Śāhī, Rāmbhakta Śāhī, Buddhilāl Śāhī
Group members: 13 families
Worshipping: *Sujamādhi Nāsaḥ*, *Haimākhyaḥ Haimā*
Performances: accompanying all the monthly *bau halegu* processions during every *carhe* (boycotted since 1983), accompanying the *Dipãkara* Buddha from *Kvāthãdau* during pañcadān carhe and *Māgh sañkrāntī*, accompanying the *Navadurgā* every alternate year during *dasaĩ* (*aṣṭamī* up to *bihi*), accompanying *Bramayānī* from her *dyaḥchẽ* to *Dattātreya* square (*Bramayānī-jātrā*) during *bisket*, accompanying *Ākāśa-Bhairava* during *Indra-jātrā*, meeting the *nāyaḥ* at the *Taleju* temple on *dasamī* morning and accompanying them home, playing *sībājā* for the 13 families. Reward only for *Navadurgā* duties.

2) *Lãmugaḥ nāykhĩbājā*

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Nhuche Bahādur Śāhī, Ratna Bahādur Śāhī
Group members: 18 families
Worshipping: *Tāthu Nāsaḥ* and *Haimā*
Performances: Accompanying *Bālkumārī* and *Kuṭi Pvāka Gaṇeś* during their *bisket-jātrā* through *Kvāthãdau*, accompanying a cow durring *gāĩ-jātrā* (only if required), playing during the *sīghuṭhī* feast at *Yvamārī puni*, playing *sībājā* for the 18 families. All the *guṭhī*-land got lost. No payment.

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3) *Kvāthãdau nāykhĩbājā*

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Rāmkājī Śāhī, Pūrna Bahādur Śāhī
Group members: 17 families
Worshipping: *Tāthu Nāsaḥ* and *Haimā*
Performances: accompanying the monthly *bau halegu* processions (boycotted since ?), meeting the *nāyaḥ* at the *Taleju* temple on *dasamī* morning and accompanying them home, playing *sībājā* for the 17 families. All the *guṭhī*-land got lost. No payment.

4) *Cvachẽ nāykhĩbājā*

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Gaṇeś Śāhī, Rāmkājī Śāhī, Cīrkājī Śāhī
Group members: 5 families
Worshipping: *Cvachẽ Nāsaḥ* and *Haimā*
Performances: accompanying one of the five *Dipãkara* Buddhas on *Māgh Sañkrāntī*, accompanying *Bhairav* during all his bisket actions, (whenever he enters or leaves the *rāth*), including his intercourse with *Ajimā*, accompanying the bier during *Bhājākhācaḥ jātrā*, (each player gets 4 *pathi* rice and 4 *pathi* beaten rice), accompanying *Chumā Gaṇeś* on 4th of *Baiśākh*, accompanying a cow during *gāī-jātrā* (if required), playing during the *sīguṭhī* feasts (3 days, *pāsā carhe* and *phāgun puni)*, playing *sībājā* for the 5 families. All the *sīguṭhī*-land got lost. No payment.

5) *Byāsi nāykhĩbājā*

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Tulsi Narāyaṇ Śāhī, Biku Narāyaṇ Śāhī
Group members: 8 families
Worshipping: *Cvachẽ Nāsaḥ* and *Bālakhu Haimā*
Performances: playing at *Yaḥsĩkhyaḥ* during the erection and the felling of the pole on 30th of *Cait* and 1st of *Baiśākh*, accompanying *Ākāśa Bhairava* during *Indra jātrā*, accompanying the *Navadurgā* from their *dyaḥchẽ* up to *Bramayānī pīṭh* during Bhagasiti (boycotted in 1986),

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accompanying the *Dipãkara* Buddha during *pañcadān carhe* and *Māgh sañkrāntī*, accompanying the *Navadurgā* during *dasaĩ*, playing *sībājā* for the 8 families. Reward only for the *Navadurgā* duties (invitation for *kuchī bhvẽ* on *aṣṭamī*).

6) *Cāsukhyaḥ nāykhĩbājā*

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Jītlāl Śāhī, Lāl Bahādur Śāhī, Gyān Bahādur Śāhī (*nāyaḥ*)
Group members: 2 families
Worshipping: *Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ* and *Haimā*
Performances: accompanying the *Duĩmāju* during bisket from the *Taleju* temple to *Mulāchẽ* (*thãchẽ*) and to *Sukul Dvakha* (*Karmācārya agamchẽ*) and back to *Taleju*, accompanying the monthly *bau halegu* processions (boycotted), meeting the *nāyaḥ* at the *Taleju* temple on *dasamī* morning and accompanying them home, playing *sībājā* for 2 families. Only the *nāyaḥ* receives 30 *pāthī* rice and 25 *gaj* white cloth from the *guṭhī saṃsthān*.

7) *Tāhāmala nāykhĩbājā* (*Bvalāchẽ nāykhĩbājā*)

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Gyān Bahādur Śāhī, Kājīlāl Śāhī, Akīl Bahādur Śāhī
Group members: 20 families
Worshipping: *Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ* and *Haimā*
Performances: accompanying the monthly *bau halegu* processions (boycotted), playing at *Yaḥsĩkhyaḥ* during the erection and the felling of the pole on 30th of *Cait* and 1st of *Baiśākh*, (this duty keeps rotating between *Tāhāmala* and *Byāsi*), playing for enjoyment during the *Mahākālī/Mahālakṣmi-jatra* on 2nd of *Baiśākh*, meeting the *nāyaḥ* at the *Taleju* temple on *dasamī* morning and accompanying them home, playing *sībājā* for the 20 families.

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8) Degamanā nāykhĩbājā

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Nuchelāl Śāhī, Pūrna Bahādur Śāhī
Group members: 18 families
Worshipping: *Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ* and *Haimā*
Performances: accompanying *Bārāhi* during bisket (*tĩpva-jātrā*), accompanying the *Ekānta Kumārī* from *Khaumā* up to *Balamphu* on *navamī* afternoon, (playing together with one *Jugi*, who plays *mahālĩ*), playing *sībājā* for the 18 families. The *guṭhī saṃsthān* offers a meal and 10/= Rs. each.

9) *Itāchẽ nāykhĩbājā*

Instruments: 1 *nāykhĩ*, 1 *sichyāḥ*
Players: Candra Bahādur Śāhī, Gaṇeś Bahādur Śahī
Group members: 5 families
Worshipping: *Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ* and *Haimā*
Performances: accompanying *Indrāyanī* during *Indra-jātrā*, accompanying *Bhairava* and *Iṇdrāyanī* during *bisket* (boycotted), meeting the *nāyaḥ* at the *Taleju* temple on *dasamī* morning and accompanying them home, playing *sībājā* for the 5 families.

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Appendix Two: Transcriptions

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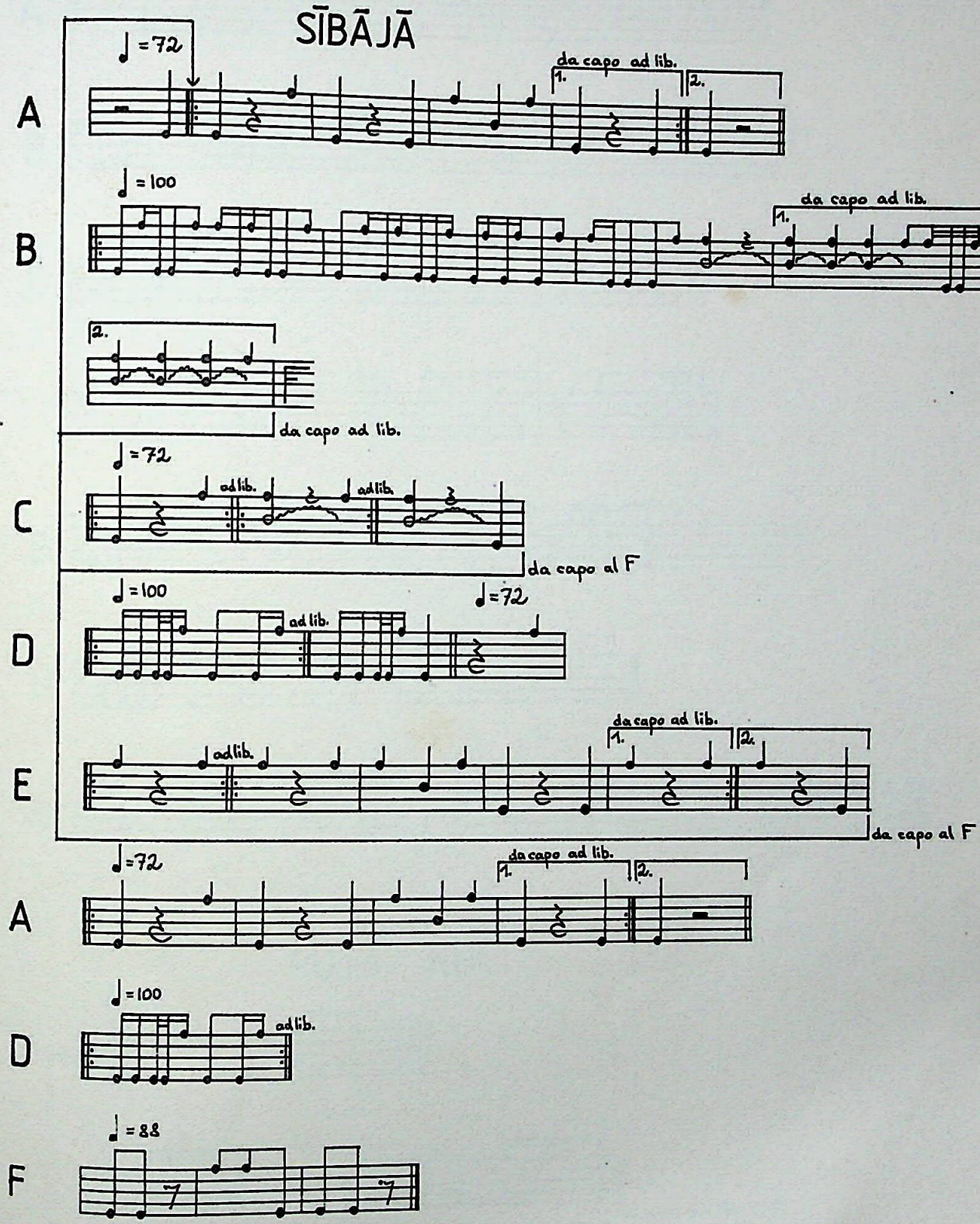

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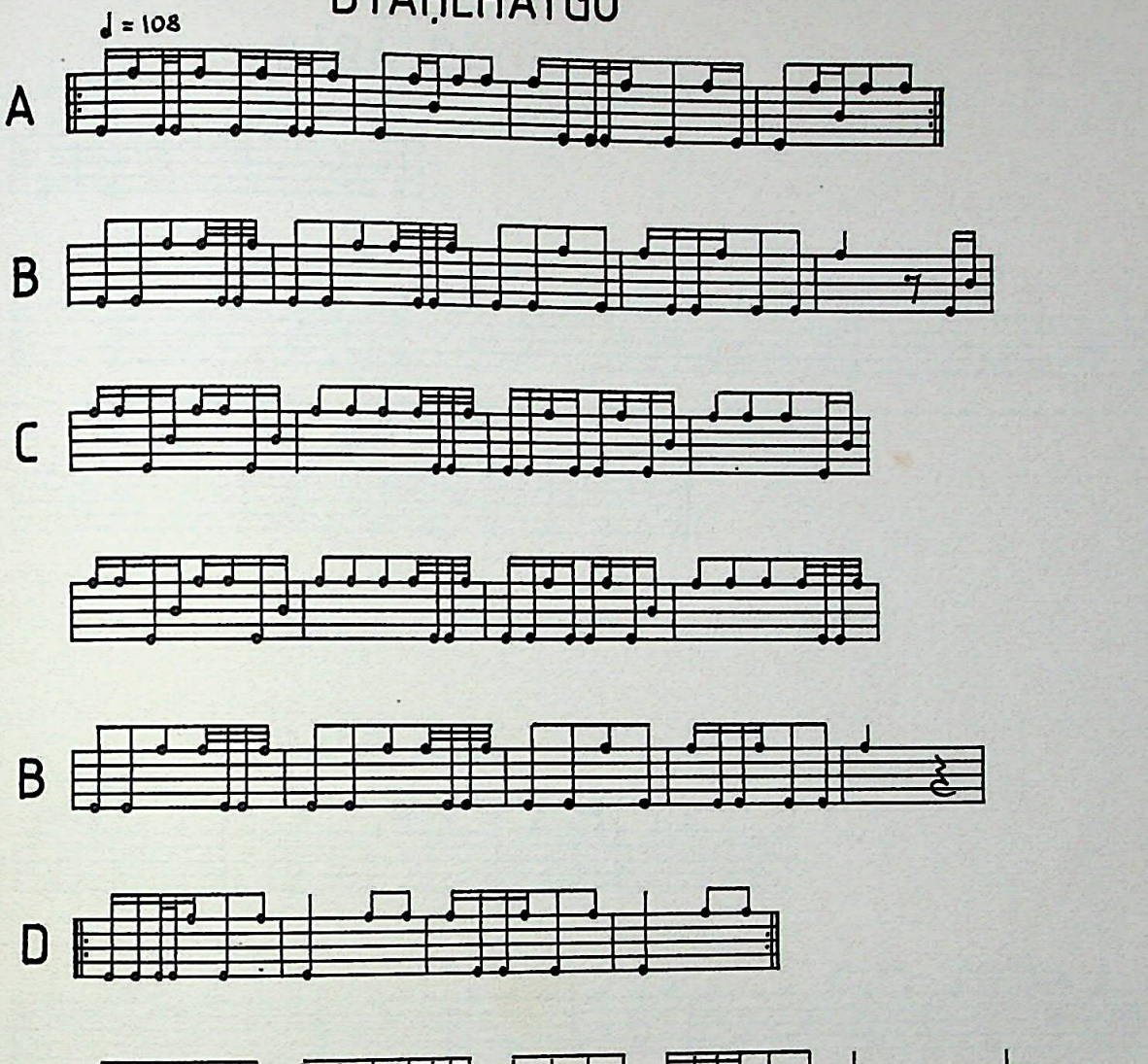
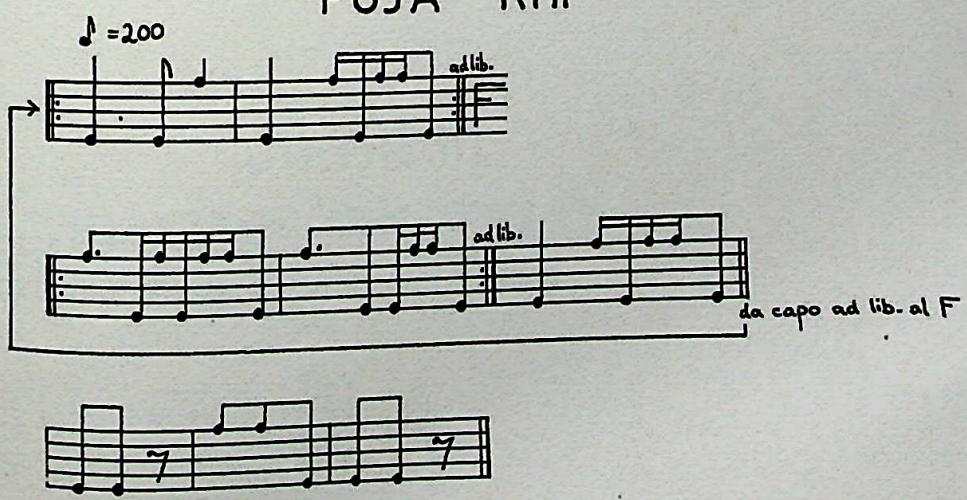
DYAḤLHĀYGU



PŪJĀ KHĨ



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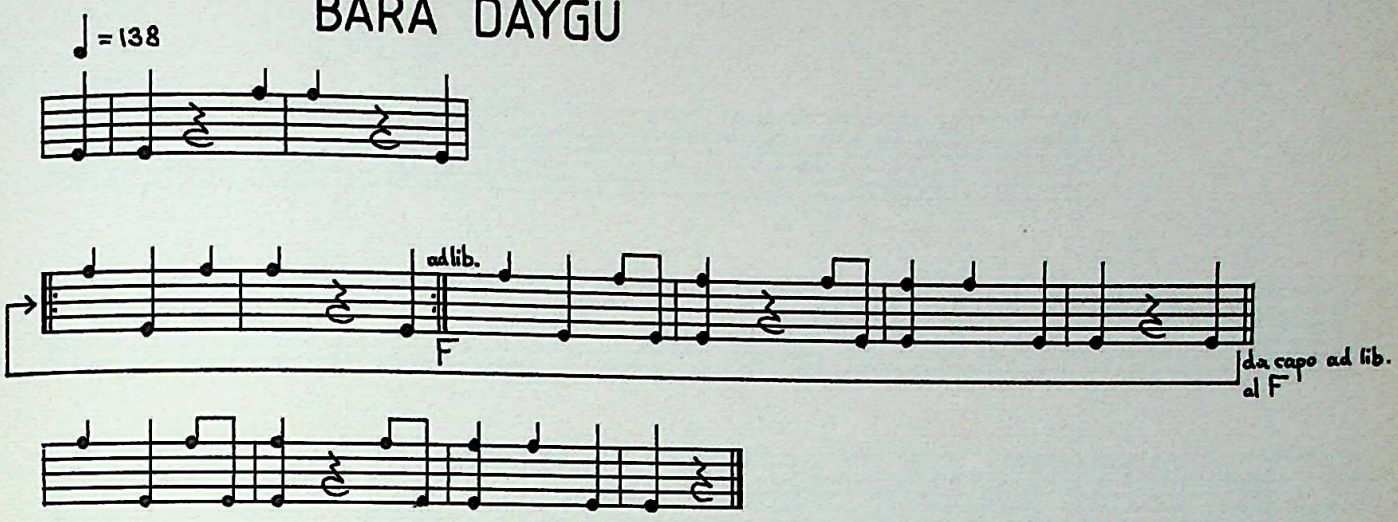
BĀRĀ DĀYGU



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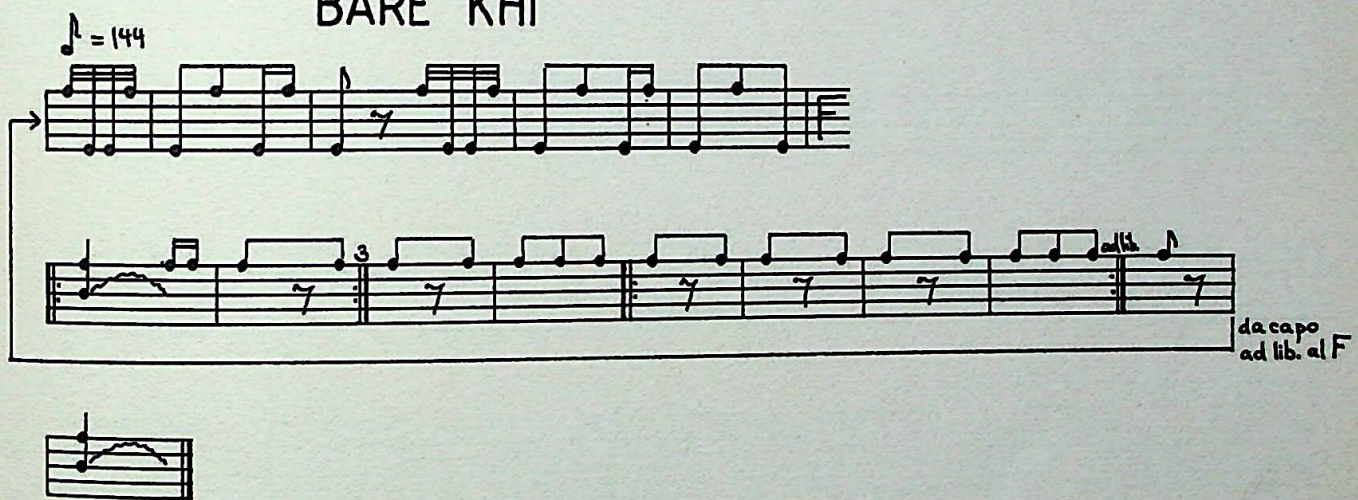

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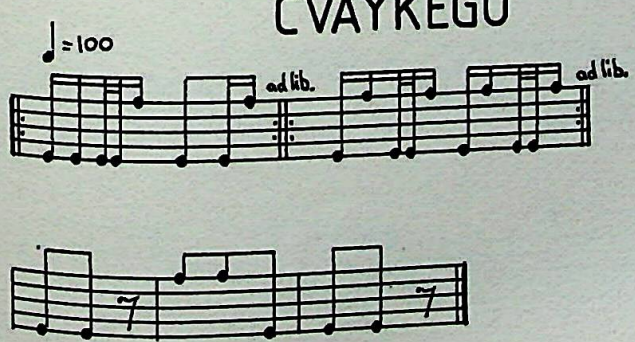

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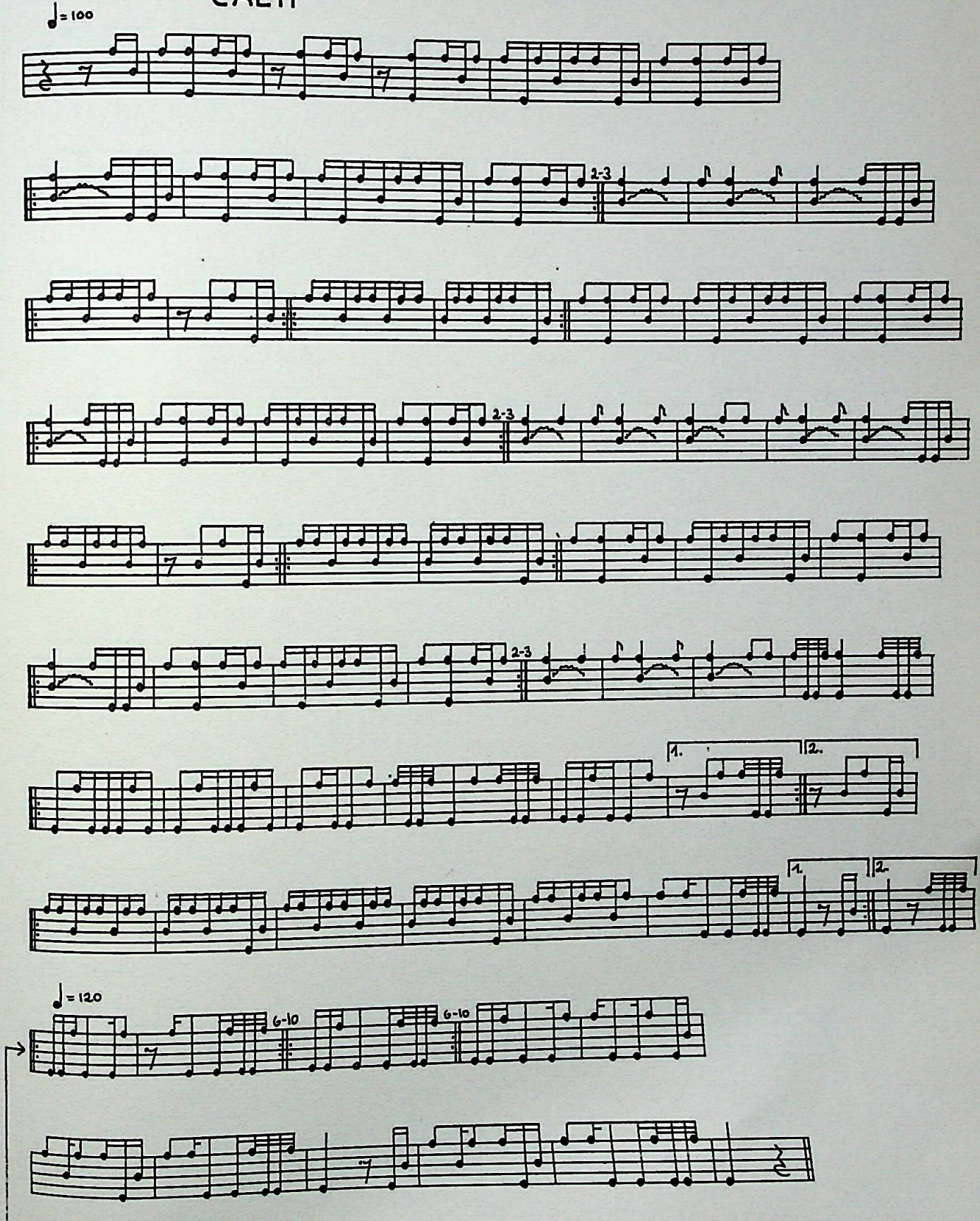
CALTI



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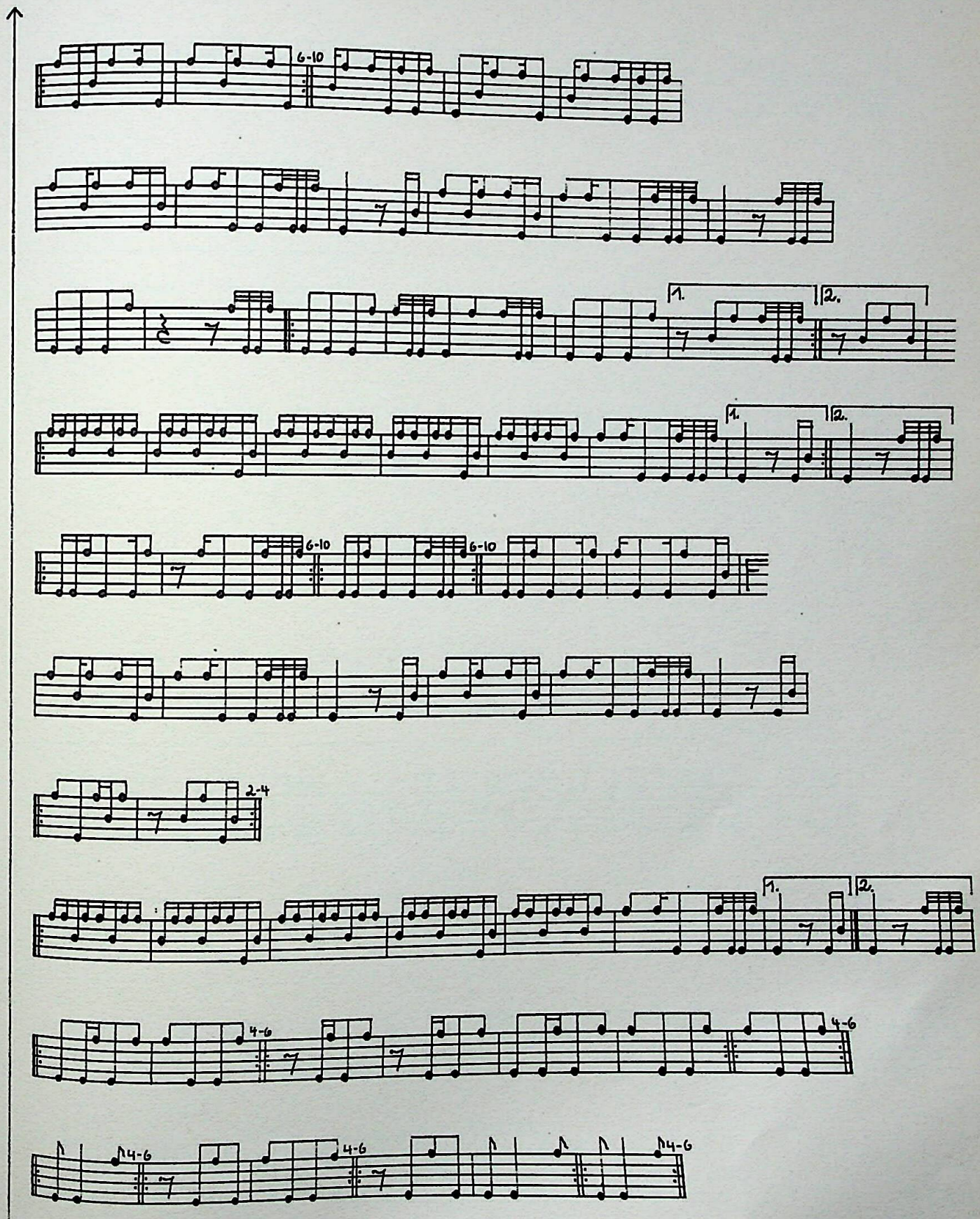

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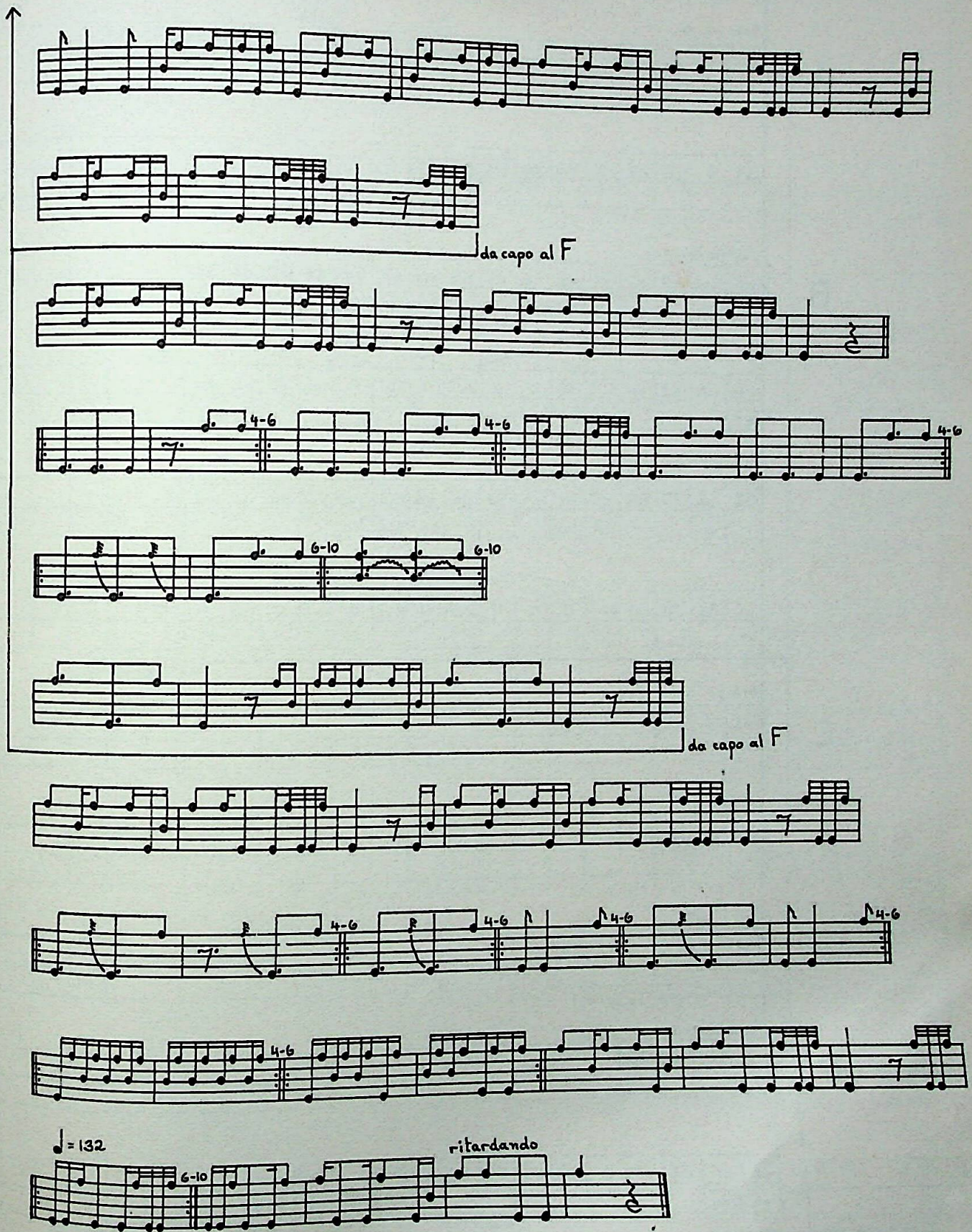

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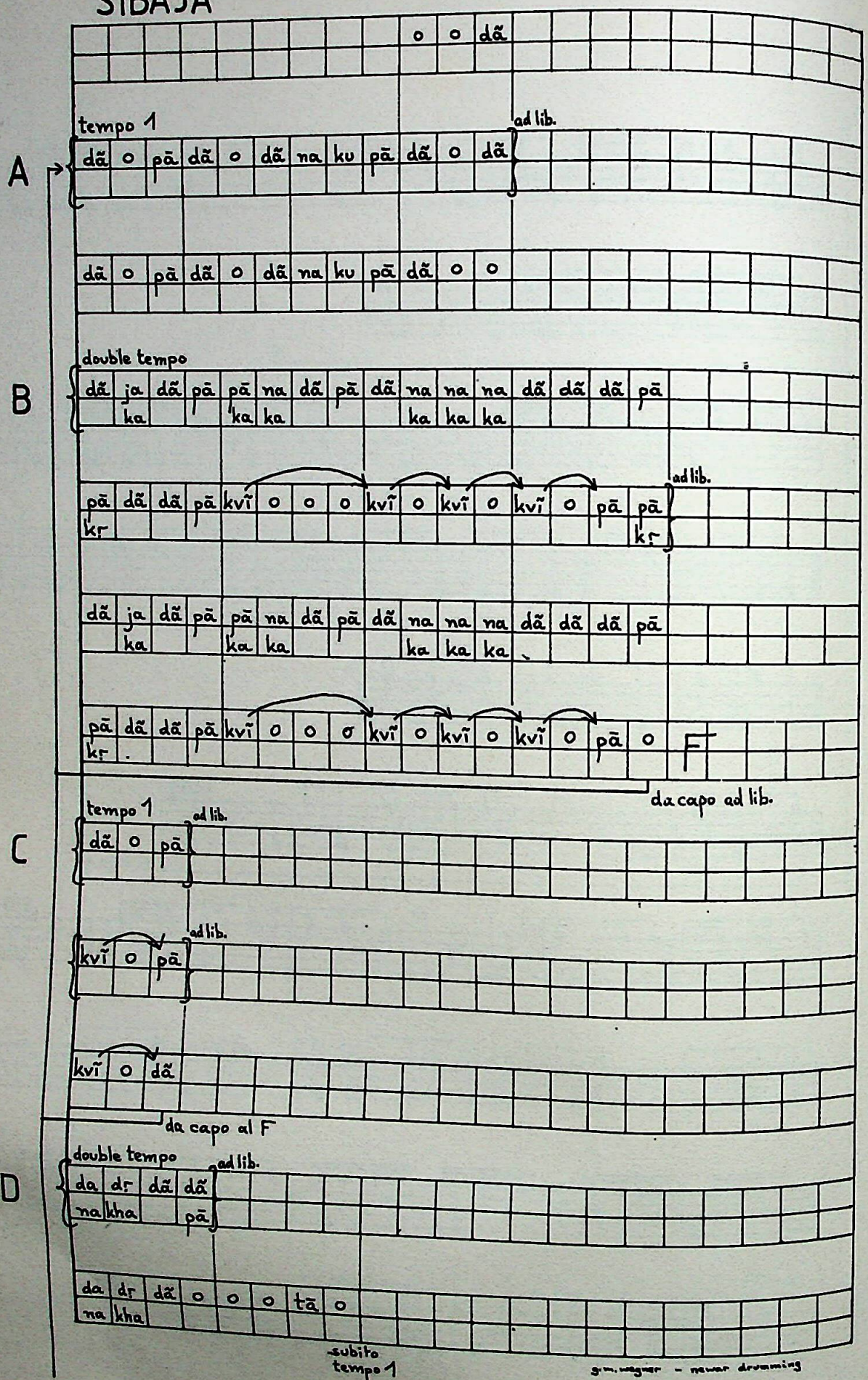
SĪBĀJĀ



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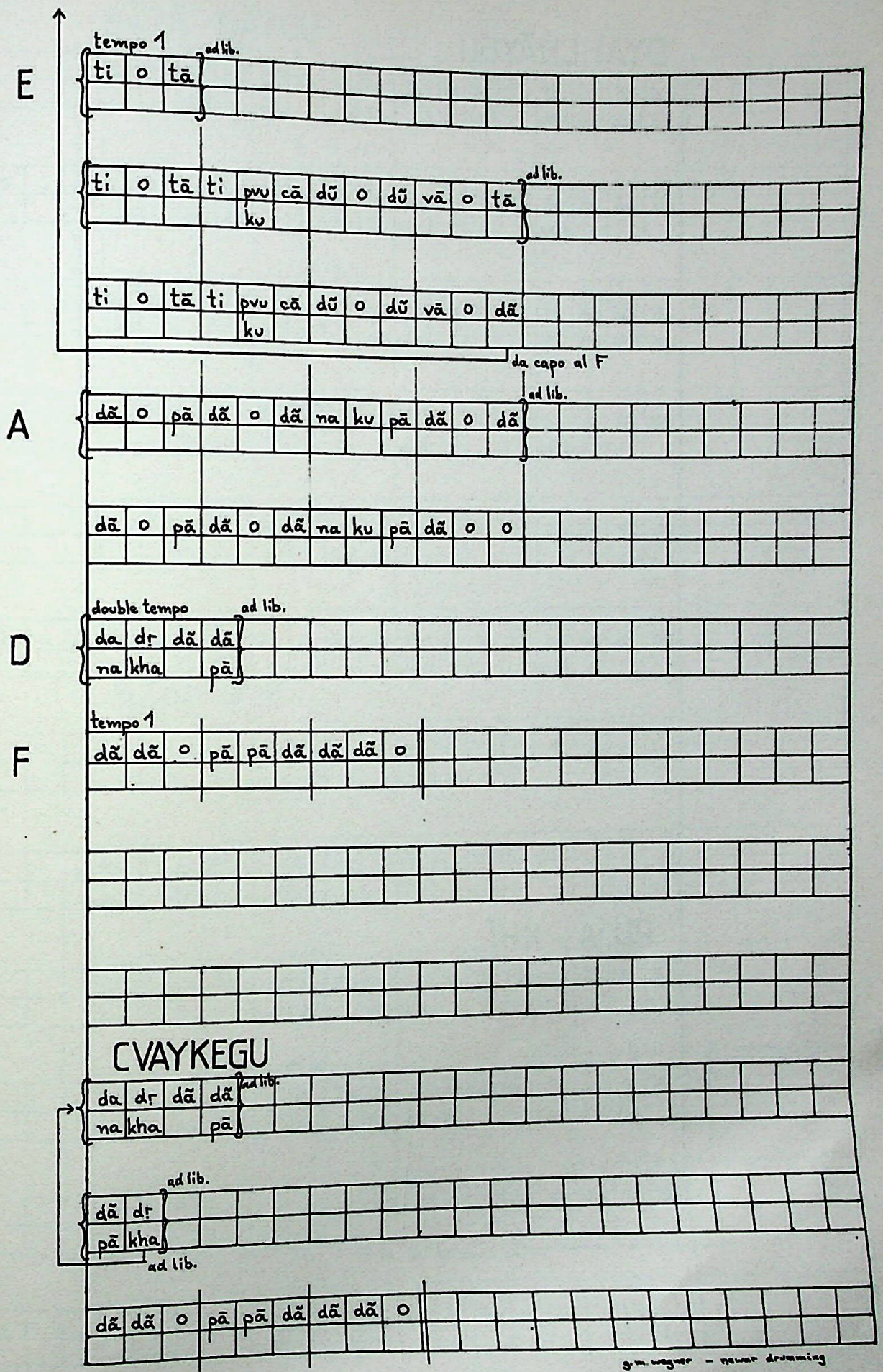

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DYAḤLHĀYGU

dã	dṛ	dã	dṛ	dã	pã	pã	pã	pã	dṛ	dã	pã	dã	pã	pã	pã						
pã	kha	pã	kha		thu			dã	kha		dã		thu								
dã	dã	pã	pã	dã	dã	pã	pã	dã	dã	pã	dã	pã	na	dã	dã	pã	o	o	dã		
			dṛka				dṛka					da	pã						thu		
pã	dã	pã	dã	pã	pã	pã	pã	da	pã	na	dã	pã	pã	pã	pã						
pa	thu	pa	thu				dṛka	na	da	pã	thu				dṛka						
dã	dã	pã	pã	dã	dã	pã	pã	dã	dã	pã	dã	pã	na	dã	dã	pã	o	o	o		
			dṛka				dṛka					da	pã								
da	dṛ	dã	pã	dã	o	pã	pã	pã	na	dã	pã	dã	o	pã	pã						
na	kha							da	pã												
dã	dã	pã	pã	dã	dã	pã	pã	dã	dã	pã	dã	pã	na	dã	dã	pã	o	o	o		
			dṛka				dṛka					da	pã								
vĩ	o	o	o																		

PŪJĀ KHĨ

ad lib.

dã	o	dã	pã	o	dã	o	pã	pã	dã	F
							dã	pa		

ad lib.

pã	ɵ	pã	pã	dã	pã	ɵ	ɵ	pã	dã
	dã	dã	pa			dã	dã	pa	

dã	o	pã	pã	dã
		dã	pa	

da capo ad lib. al F

dã	dã	o	pã	pã	dã	dã	dã	o

g.m. wagner – newar drumming

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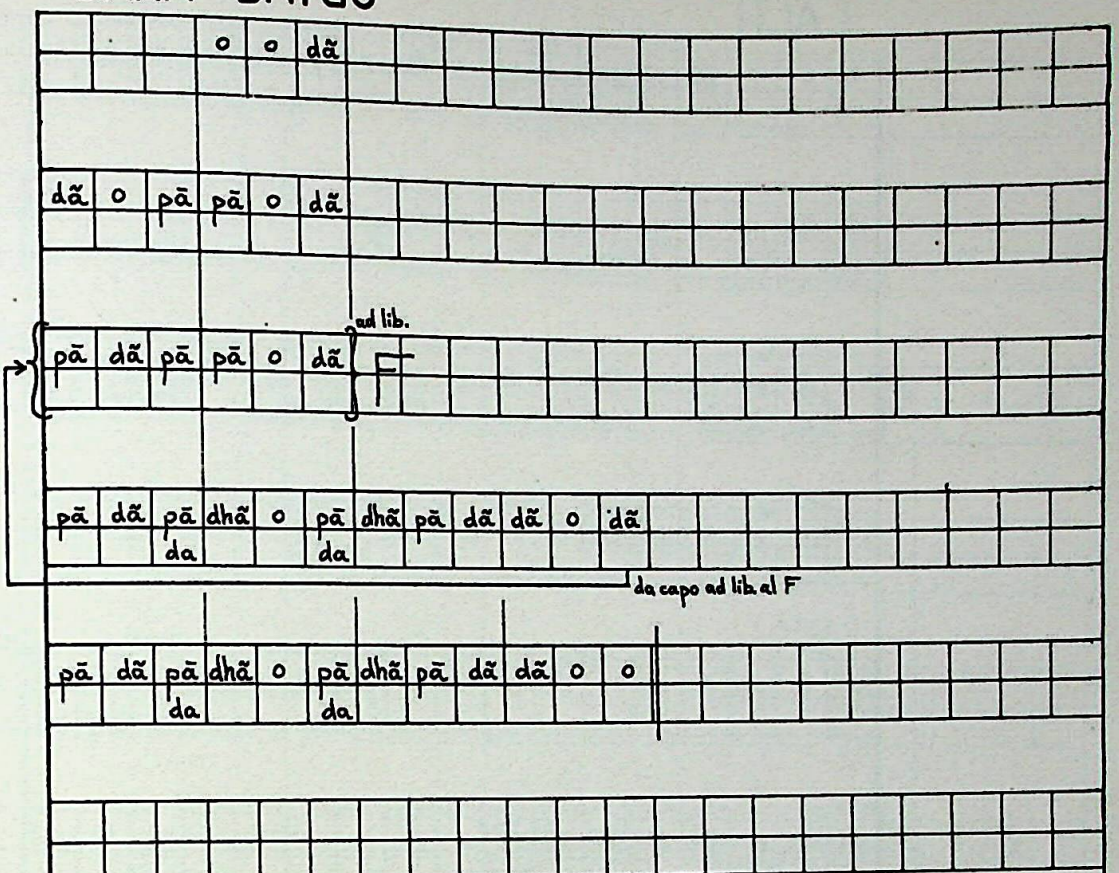
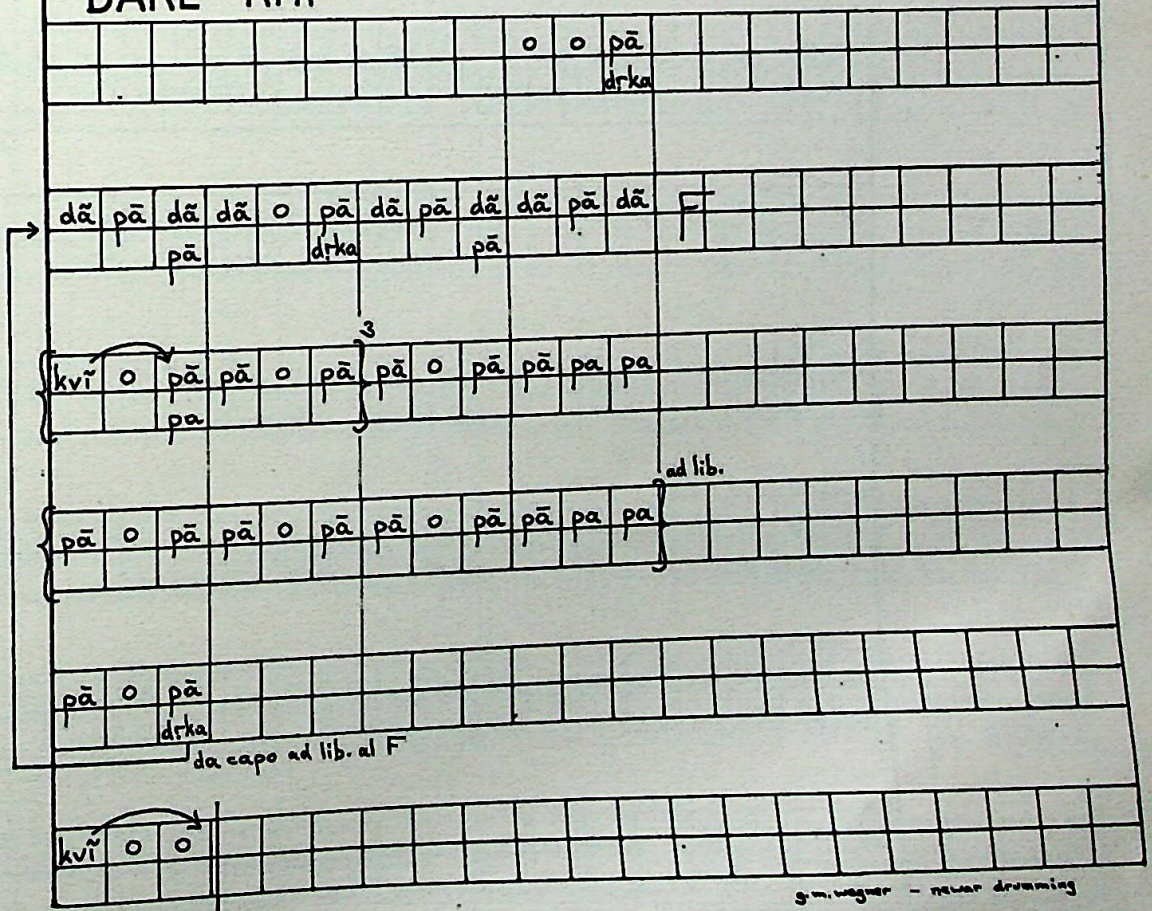
BĀRĀ DĀYGU



BĀRE KHĨ



g.m. wagner - newar drumming

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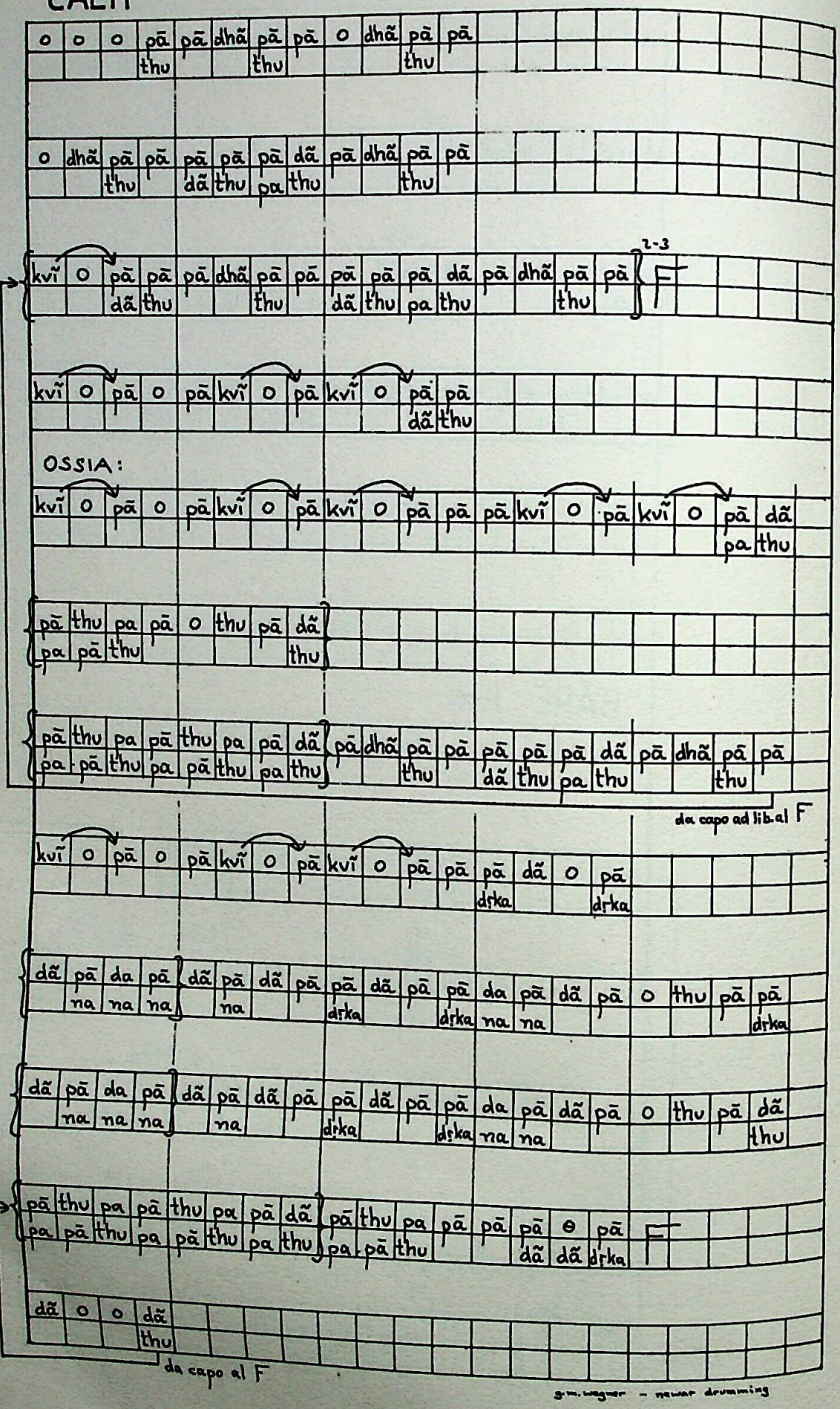

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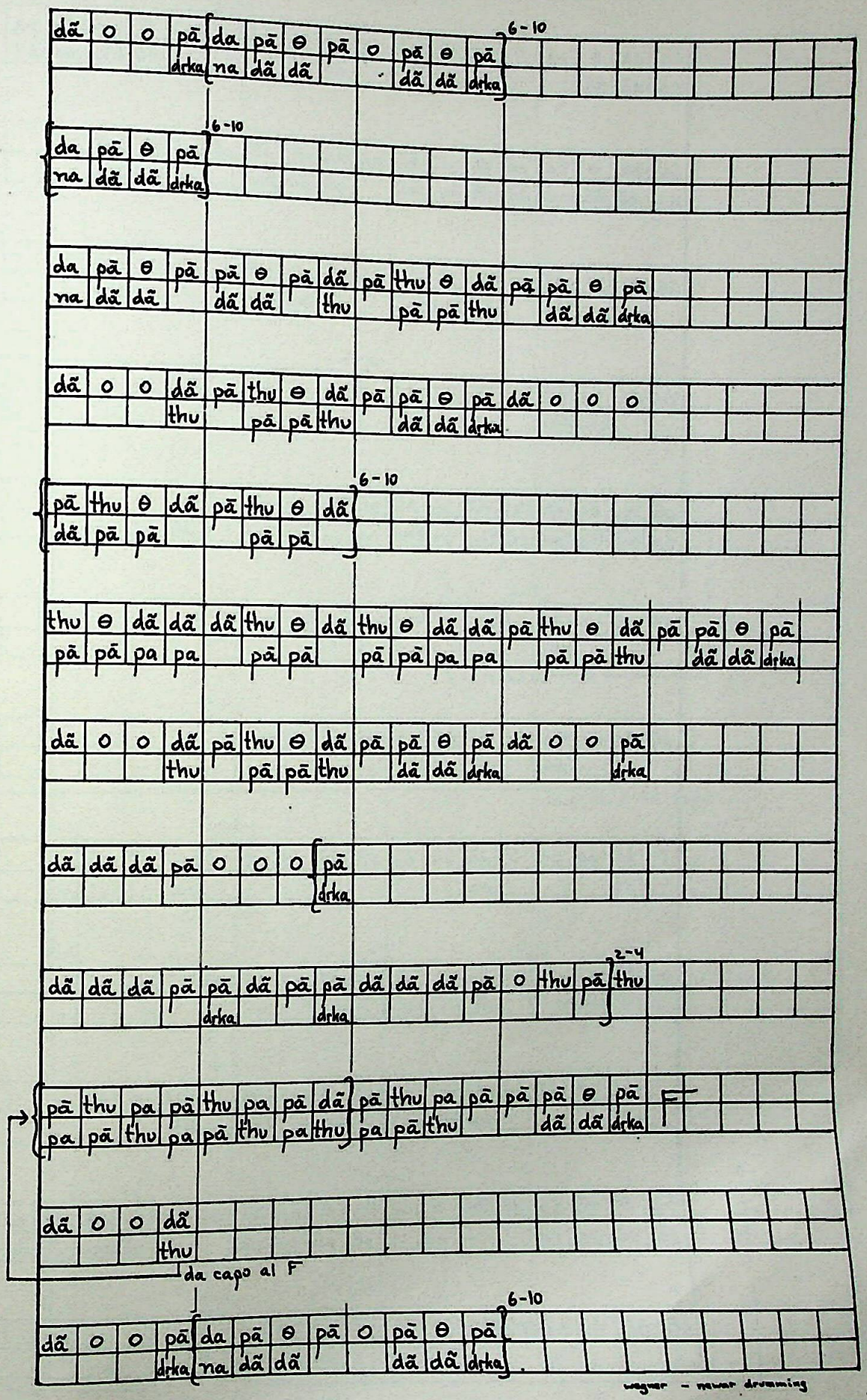

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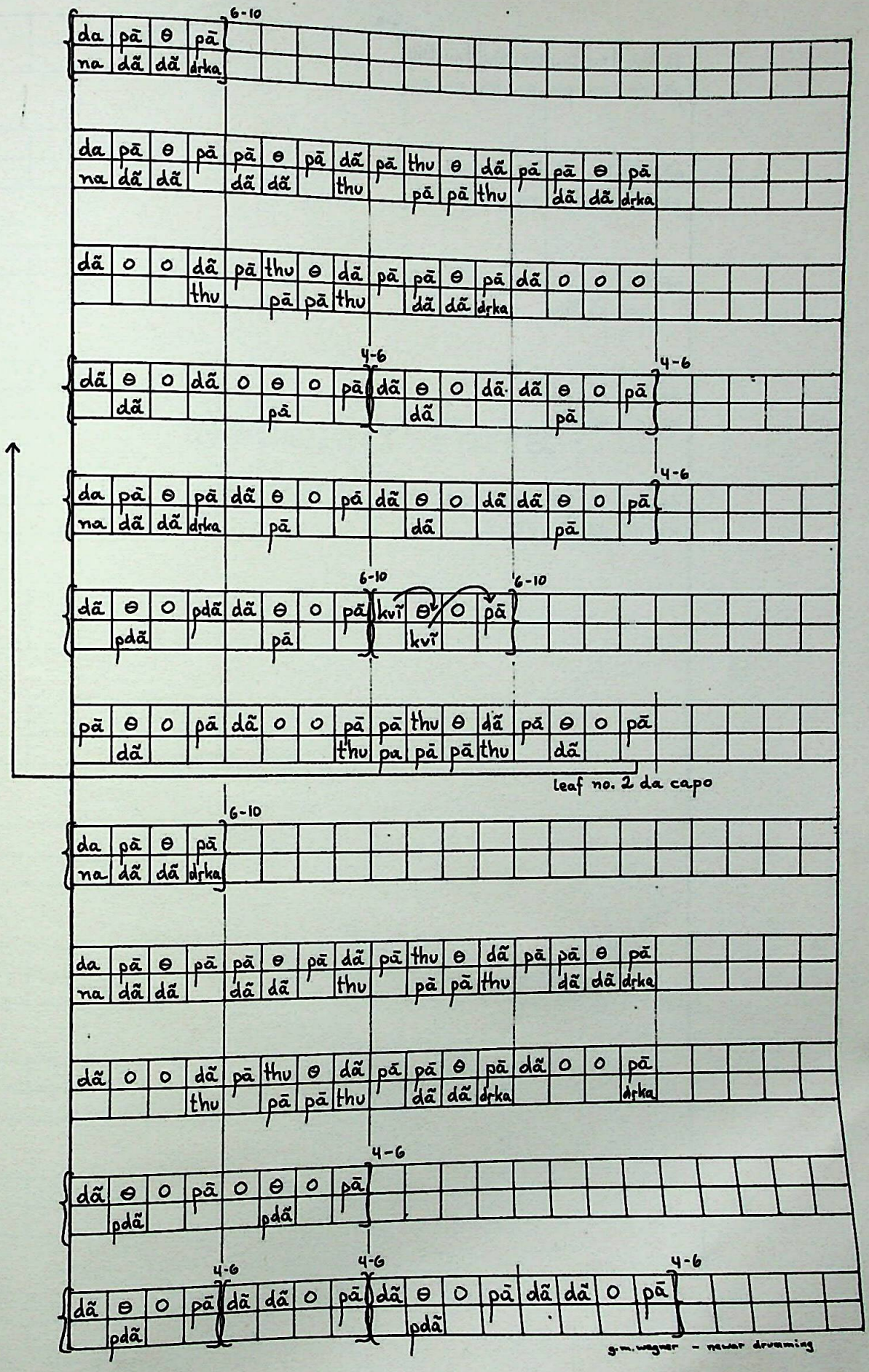

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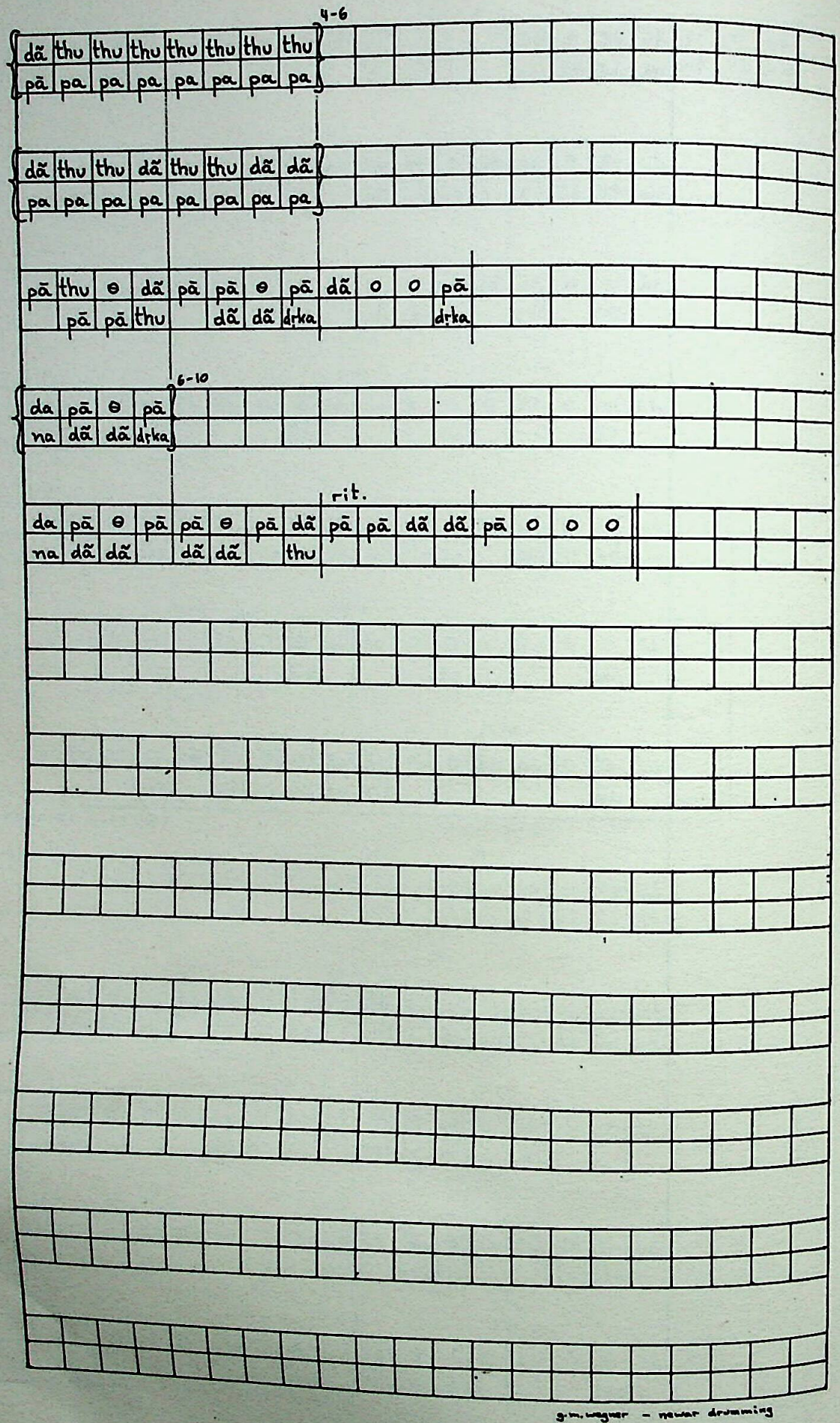

g.m. wagner - newar drumming

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Appendix Three: Newari version

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ख्वपया नाय्खिं बाजं

च्वमि:- भाजु गेर्ट माथियास् वेग्नर
भाय् हिउम्ह:- भाजु दरशा नेवामि

न्ह्यत खँ:

नेवा:तय् थ:गु पहलं बाजं स्यनेगु ज्याय् व थ:गु बाजं थायेगु संस्कृति दथ्वी आपालं पानाच्वंगु जक मखु झं झं तापाना वंगु नं सीदु। थ्वं सफुतिं थथे तापानाच्वंगु पह:यात स्वायेगु ज्या यासें "नाय्" जातयापि नेवा:तय्सं नेपा:या संगीतया धुकू जायेका: मेमेपिं मनूतय्त बिया वयाच्वंगु देनयात उलेगु कुत: यायेत्यंगु दु। थ्वं सफू जिम्ह गुरू श्री काजिलाल साहीयात द्वहलपा च्वना।

थौंकन्हय् (२०४४) ख्वप देशय् नाय्खि बाजं थाइपि झिखल: दु। तर छुं नं धार्मिक ज्याय् नाय्खि बाजं थाइपिन्त माछिकथं आर्थिक ग्वाहालि जूगु खने मदु। अपो धयाथें नाय्खि बाजं थाइपिन्त मेमेपिसं वास्ता या:गु नं. खने मदु। जातीय दमनया कारणं थ्वं नाय्खि बाजंया कला न्हिया न्हिथं क्वाहा वनाच्वंगु दु। नाय्बाजा थाइपि "नाय्" त जक जूगुलि नं. थौंकन्हय्या नव युवकपिन्सं थ्वं बाजं स्यनेगु कुत: मया:गु ख:।

वास्तवय् संगीतयात सफूखय् जक लिकुंका तये फैमखु। थ्वं अविरल रूपं अभ्यास यानां तुं च्वने मा:। जि थ्वं बाजं जिमि गुरू ख्वप जैंलाया श्री काजिलाल साहीपाखें वि.सं. २०४२।४३ सं थायेगु सयेका। अबलेंनिसें हे धायेमा: जि थ्वं नाय्खि बाजं आपालं धार्मिक ज्याय् थायेगु याना। अले पश्चिम जर्मनी, स्वीडेन व फिनलैण्ड थें ज्यागु देशय् तकं थाना क्यना। अनयापि मनूतय्सं थ्व बाजं प्रति अभिरूचि क्यंसें नेपा: प्रति हे उत्सुकता क्यंगु जि वा: चायेका।

स:चिं गथे ब्वनेगु:

नाय्खि बाजंया बोलि नं मेमेगु थायेगु बाजंया चिं थें तुं स: चिं छ्यला: थायेज्यू। गुगु DHIMAY BAJA OF BHAKTAPUR (ख्वपया धिमे बाजं) सफूखय् नं न्ह्यथनागु दु। नाय्तसें थाइगु बाजंया बोलि पाय्छिकथं पिल्वय्गु ज्या बांलाक जूगु खने मदु। (सी बाजं बाहेक) जि थ्वं सफूखय् नव बाजाया बोलि थें तुं नाय्खिचायागु बोलि छ्यलागु दु। थुकें ब्वमिपिन्त नं नाय्खियागु स: पिकायेगुली ग्वाहालि याइ।

थ्वं बोलि क्वय् बियातया थें क्वथा क्वथाय् व्यक्त यानातयाग् द ग्कें शास्त्रीय संगीत कथं ई अथवा मात्रायात संकेत याइ। प्रत्येक क्वथायात ध्वलं निब्ब थला तयागु दु। गनं छगू जक मात्रा दुथाय् छक: जक दायेगु जूसा च्वय्यागु क्वथाय् चिं तयेगु। छगू जक मात्रा दी मा:थाय् ० (सुन्ना) चिं जक तयातयागु दु। गनं बागू जक मात्रा दी मा:थाय् ० (सुन्नायात ब्वथला:) चिं तयातयागु दु।

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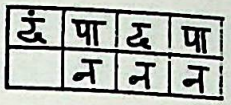
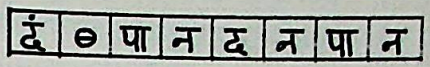
गथेकि



ब्वनेगु थथे



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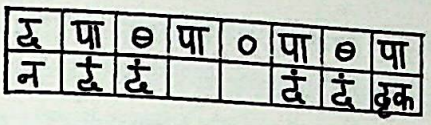

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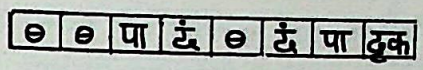

गनं गनं ज्वः ब्राकेट दुथाय् व ज्वः छसिकथं हानं दोहरे यायेमाः। अले गनं गनं ल्याः बियातया कथं प्यकः न्याकः नं दोहरे यायेमाः। अथवा थः यतले नं थायेज्यू।

गनं गनं बोलिया छुं छुं ब्व दोहरे याये माःथाय् F थ्व चिं बियातयागु दु। थ्व F चिं बियातयाथाय् तक जक थायेगु वयां क्वय्यागु छधो थाये म्वाः अले छकोलं मेगु बोलि थाःवनेगु।

थ्व चिं क्वीं सःवयेके माःथाय् थलाः क्वलाः याना यंकेगु। थ्व दथुपतिचाय् ई भचा कयाः नासः पाखे घोटे यायेगु।

प्रत्येक स्वंगू व प्यंगू मात्रा क्यनेत च्वय् क्वय्या धो तयागु दु। थ्व व्वथलेगु ज्या छिस्याःया आवर्त कथं नं न्ह्याः वनाच्वंगु दु। गुकि स्वंगू अथवा प्यंगू मात्रा दोहरे जुया च्वनी।

बोलया सःचिं :

नायखि बाजंया बोल मेमेग बाजं स्वयाः चीपसां तसकं बांलाः। थ्व बाजंया महत्त्व व प्रयोग मेमेगु बाजं स्वयाः आपालं दु अले गुगुं धार्मिक पुजाय् मदयेकं मगाः। उलि जक मखु थ्व नेवाः जाति दुने प्राचीन कालनिसें प्यपुना च्वंगु बाजं खः।

सी बाजं :

थ्व बाजंया जन्म हे सु मन्त धाःसा छें निसें थःथःगु इलाकाया घाट तक यंकेत जूगु खः। (ख्वप देशय् चुपिं घाट, ब्रम्हायणी घाट, हनुमान घाट) थ्व बाजंया बोलि सी लंपुया थाय् कथं हिला वनी। थ्व बाजंया बोलि मनूतयेगु आत्मीय संसार नाप हे स्वापू दयाच्वंगु सीदु। थ्व बोलि थायेगु पहः थथे ब्वथला क्यने छिं–

ABC
ABDE
AB
ADF

प्रत्येक ब्वयात छगः छगः आखलं क्यनाच्वंगु दु। वहे बोलि दोहरे त्यहरे यानाः थायेमाः। सी लंपुया मेगु थाय् मथ्यंतलें अले विशेष थाय् स्वयाः बोलि हिलावं वनी।

ख्वपय् देशय् सी बाजं क्वय् बियातया कथं स्वथी ज्याय् थायेगु याना वयाच्वंगु दु --

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(१) सुं नाय् नेवाः सीबलय् गुथियारतय्सं सःतेगु कोछित धाःसा
(२) तलेजुया राजोपाध्याय पुरोहित स्वर्गारोहण जइवं नायतयसं स्वइच्छां सन्मान यायेवं
(३) भगसिति खुनु नवदुर्गाया स्वर्गारोहण जुइवं प्याखं मो फुक सुर्जमाढी मुनाः ब्रम्हायणी पीठय् ख्वाःपाः उइयंकीबलय् शहरपिनेसं लाःगु तुं दुगु च्याम्ह सिह थ्यनेवं सी बाजं थायेगु चलन दु।

थ्व सी बाजं स्यनेत विशेष व्यवस्था यायेमाः। सः पिमज्वःगु एकान्तगु कोथा माः छाय्धाःसा थ्व स्यनेबलय् पिने च्वंपिन्सं थुकेया बोलि तायेके बी मज्यू। सीम्ह हःगु थें भ्रम जुइयः। अले बिरामी जुयाः सी नं यः। स्यनीम्ह व स्यना काइम्हेसिया जिवय् हे हानी जुइयः। जिं थ्व बाजं स्यनाबलय् नं सयेके धुंका तसकं म्हसुख मन्त अले विभुती हयाः झारे यानाः झिनिन्हु दुबलय् तिनि लाल। अकें जिम्ह गुरूं सी बाजं न्ह्यःलाःथाय् थायूमज्यू धकाः ब्यूगु ख्याचो माने याये हे माल।

च्वयेकेगु :

थ्व निगू चिचिहाकःगु व ज्वःलाःगु बोलि थायेगु याः। थ्व बाजं थायेवं आकाझाकां मनूतय् न्हाय्पं तिंतिं स्वानाः आकर्षित जुइ। थथे जुइगुयात हे च्वयेकेगु धाइ।

द्यो ल्हायेगु :

थ्व नासःद्यो व मेमेपिं देव देवतापिनिगु नामं थायेगु याइ। नायखिं बाजंया न्ह्यागु नं ताल न्ह्याके न्ह्यो व सिधयेका द्यो ल्हायेगु याइ। तर सी बाजं थायेबलय् मखु।

पुजा खिं :

थ्व बोली न्यागू मात्रा दु अले निगू निगू मात्रा अतः गानाः थायेमाः। थ्व बाजं थायेवं पुजा वनेगुयात संकेत याई। अले पुजा थासय् थ्यनेवं दियेगु धाइ।

बारा दायेगु :

थ्व धीलां थायेगु बाजं खः। थ्वो बोलि द्योयाथाय् वनाः लिहां वःगुयात संकेत याइ।

बारे खिं :

थ्व बोलि क्वाथंदौंया दिपंकर बुद्ध तथागत न्ह्याकेबलय् जक थाई। थ्व नं बारा दायेगु थें धीलां जक थायेगु याः।

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चल्ती :

थ्व बोलि थायेवं सकसिया मनयृ न्ह्याइपुसे च्वनी। अले चिची हाकयेक जक थायेमाः। थ्व चल्तीया बोलि निश्चित रूपं बियातःगु दःसां थाइम्हेसिया इच्छा कथं जुइ। अतः गानाः थायेगु यायेमाः। छोनेगु धाःसा न्ह्याबले छगू हे जक जुइ। ख्वप देशयृ काजिलालं थें मेपिसं चल्ती बाजं थाये मसः। वयृकलं थाइबलयृ चल्तीया बोलि तसकं स्पष्ट जू। नाप नापं थाइपिसं वयृकःया बोलि ज्वनेत तसकं थाकु। वयृकः याके ता इलंनिसें अभ्यास दूगुलि ताउत थायेगु शक्ति दयाःनं द्वं धैगु गुबलें मजू। बाजं थानातुं च्वनेगु आन्तरिक बल दूगुलि वयृकःया कलायृ निपुणता सीदुगु जक मखु न्यनीपिन्त आकर्षण नं यायेगु शक्ति दु। वयृकलं बाजं थाइबलयृ थुलि मोह यायेफु कि न्यना च्वनीपिन्सं मचायृक हे थःथःगु म्ह संका हये धुंकी। अकें हे चल्ती बोलि अझ बांलाक थायेत अयृलाः मत्वसें मगाः धकाः नं धाइ।

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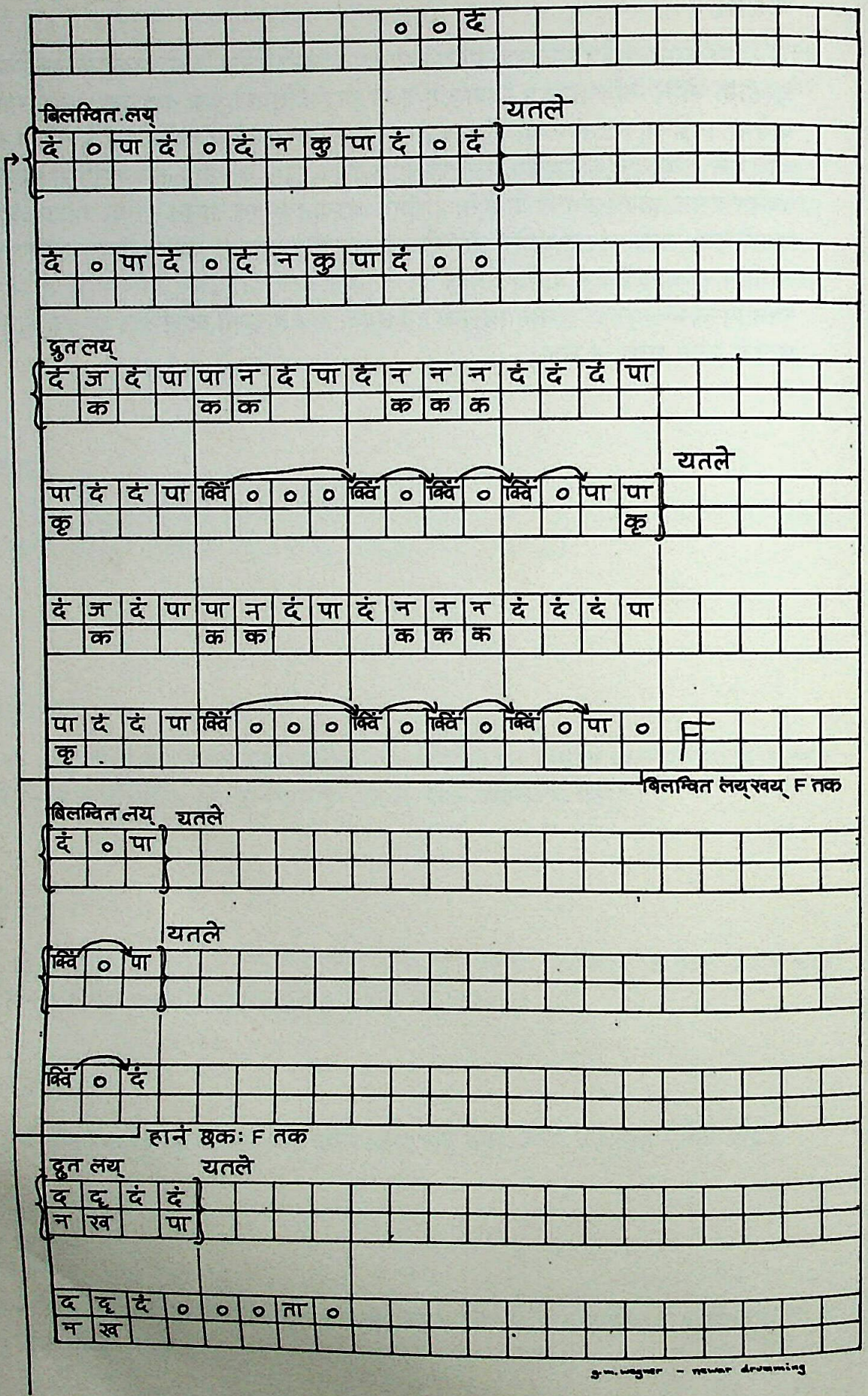
सी बाजा



g.m. wagner - newar drumming

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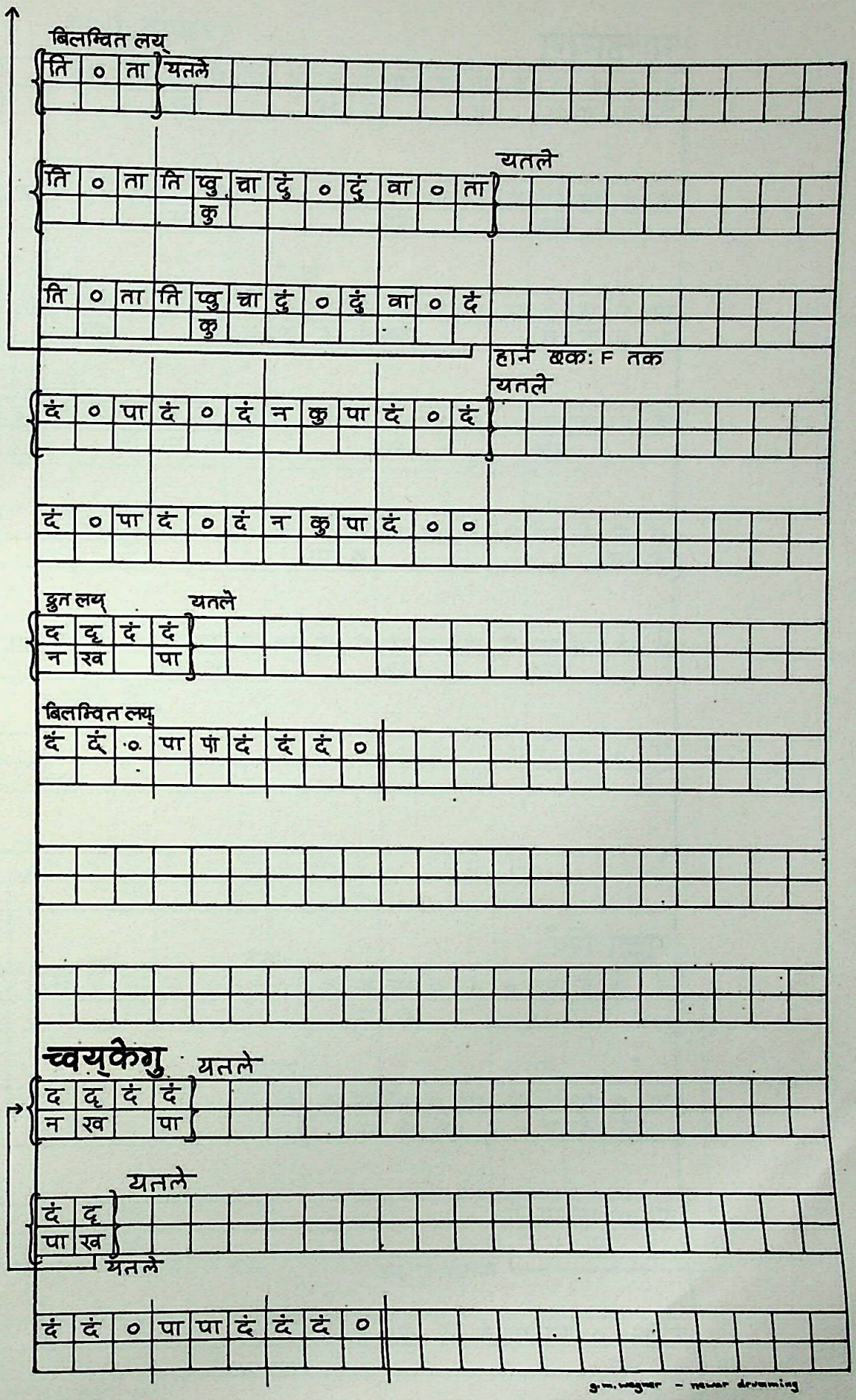

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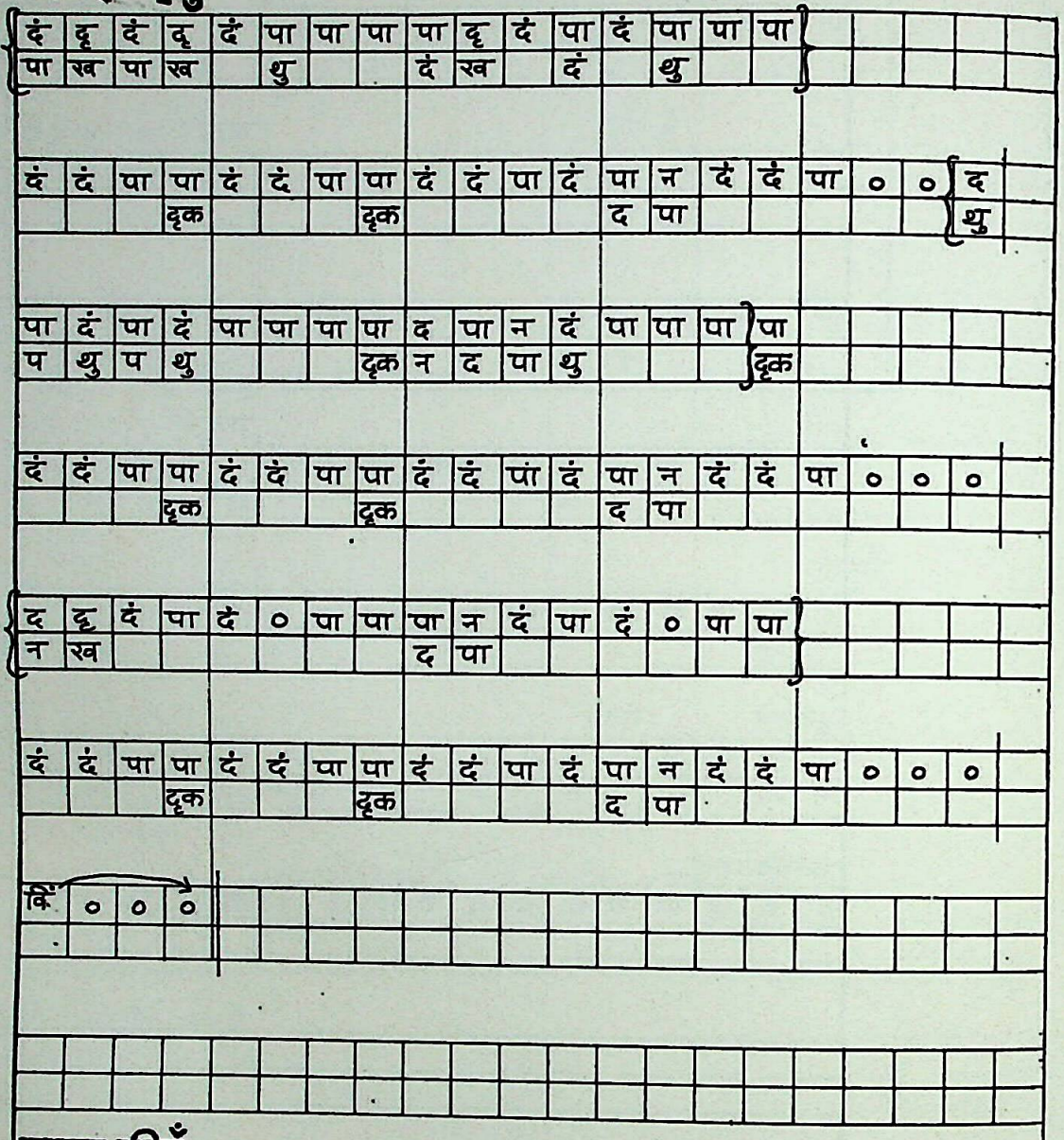

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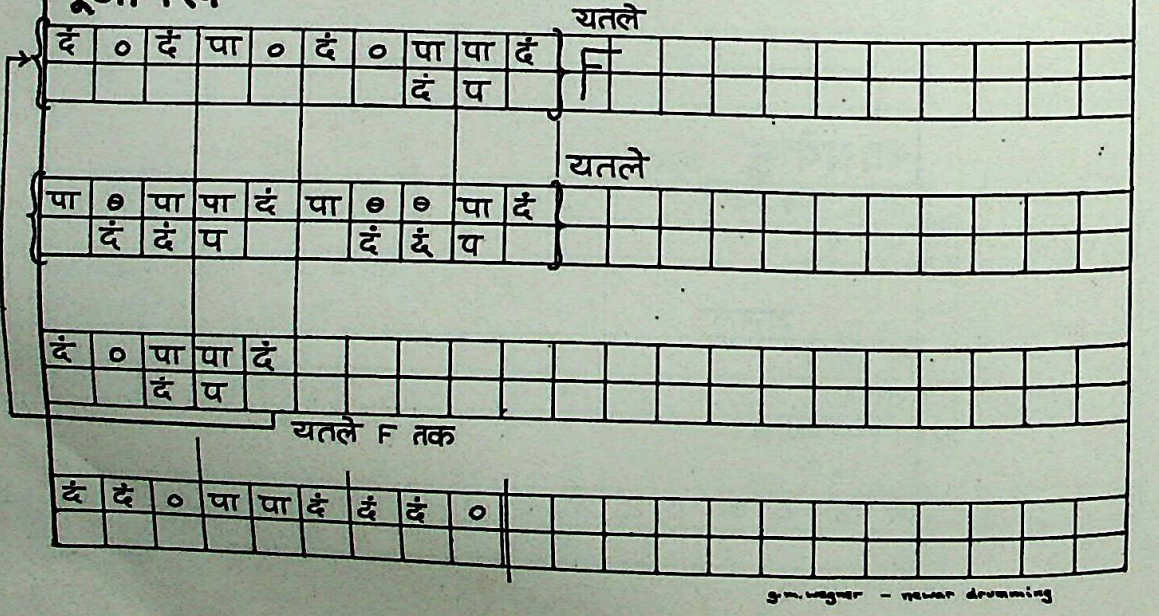

g.m. nagar - never drumming

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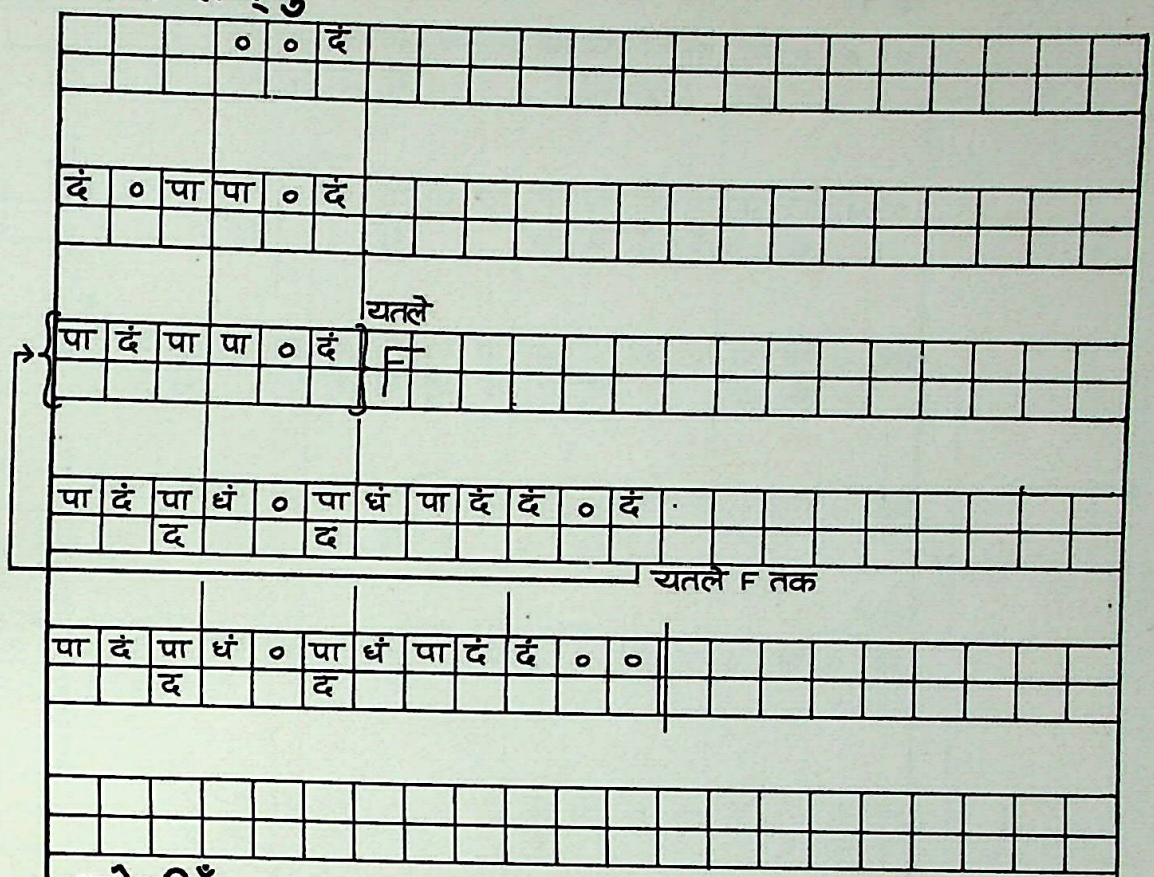
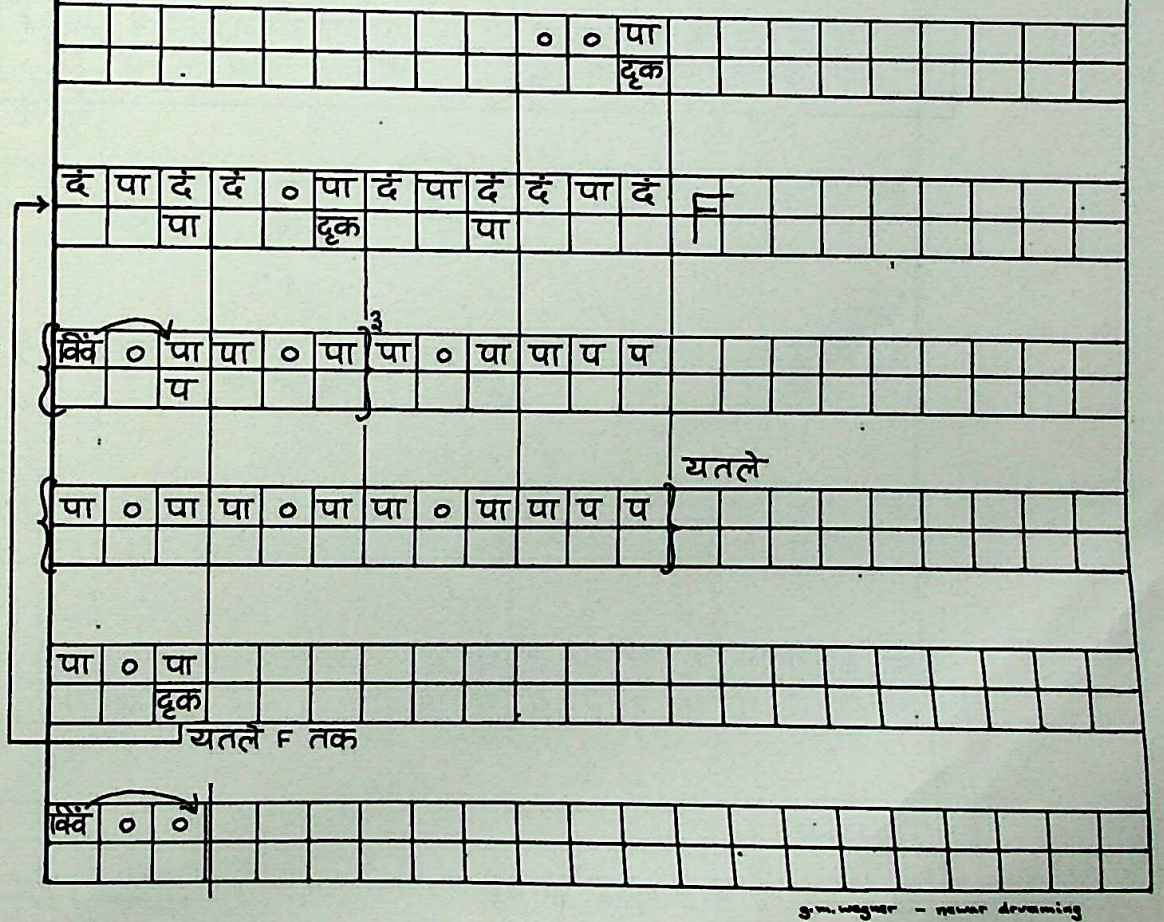
बारा दायगु



बारे रिवँ



g.m. nagar - newar drumming

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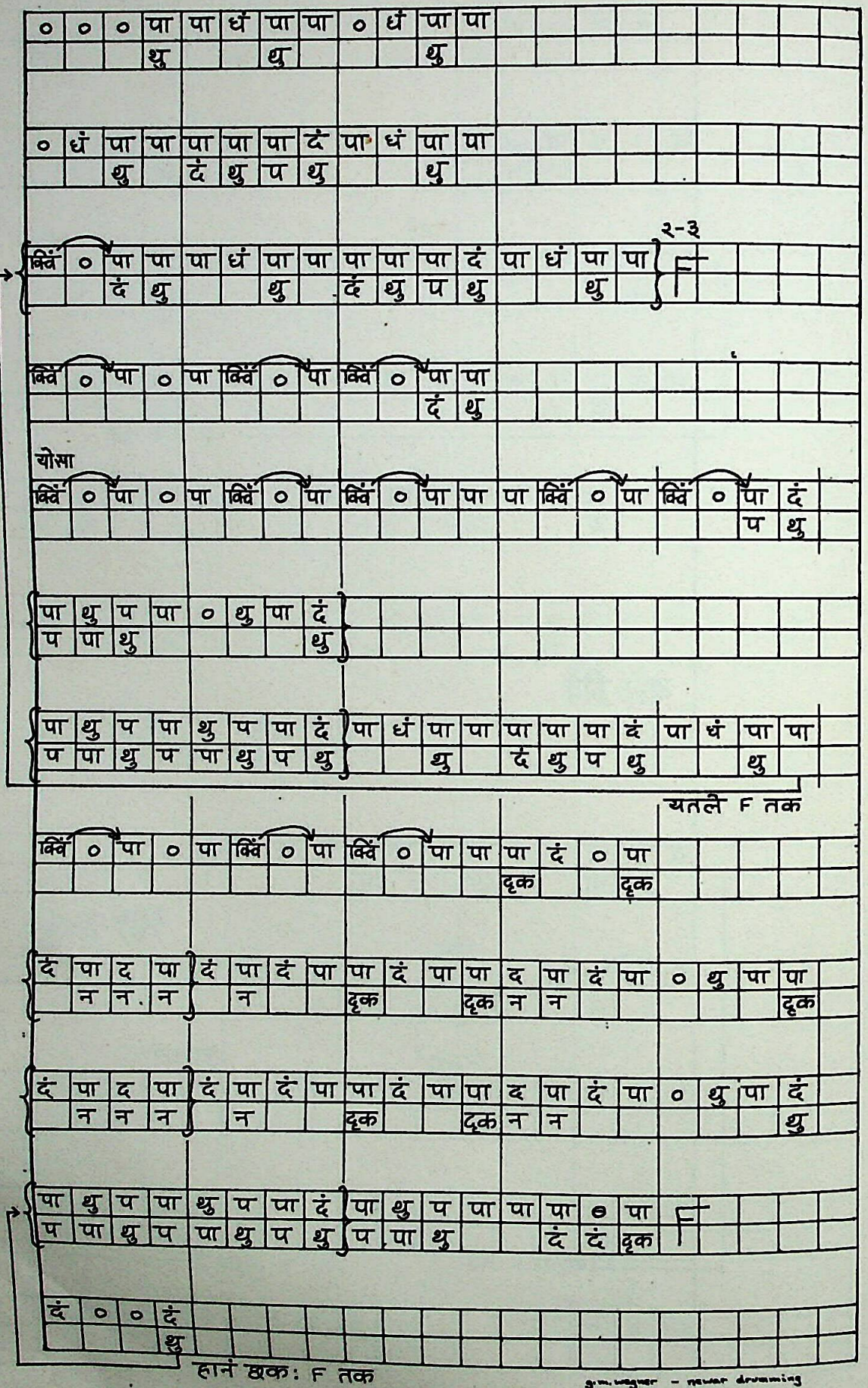
चल्ति



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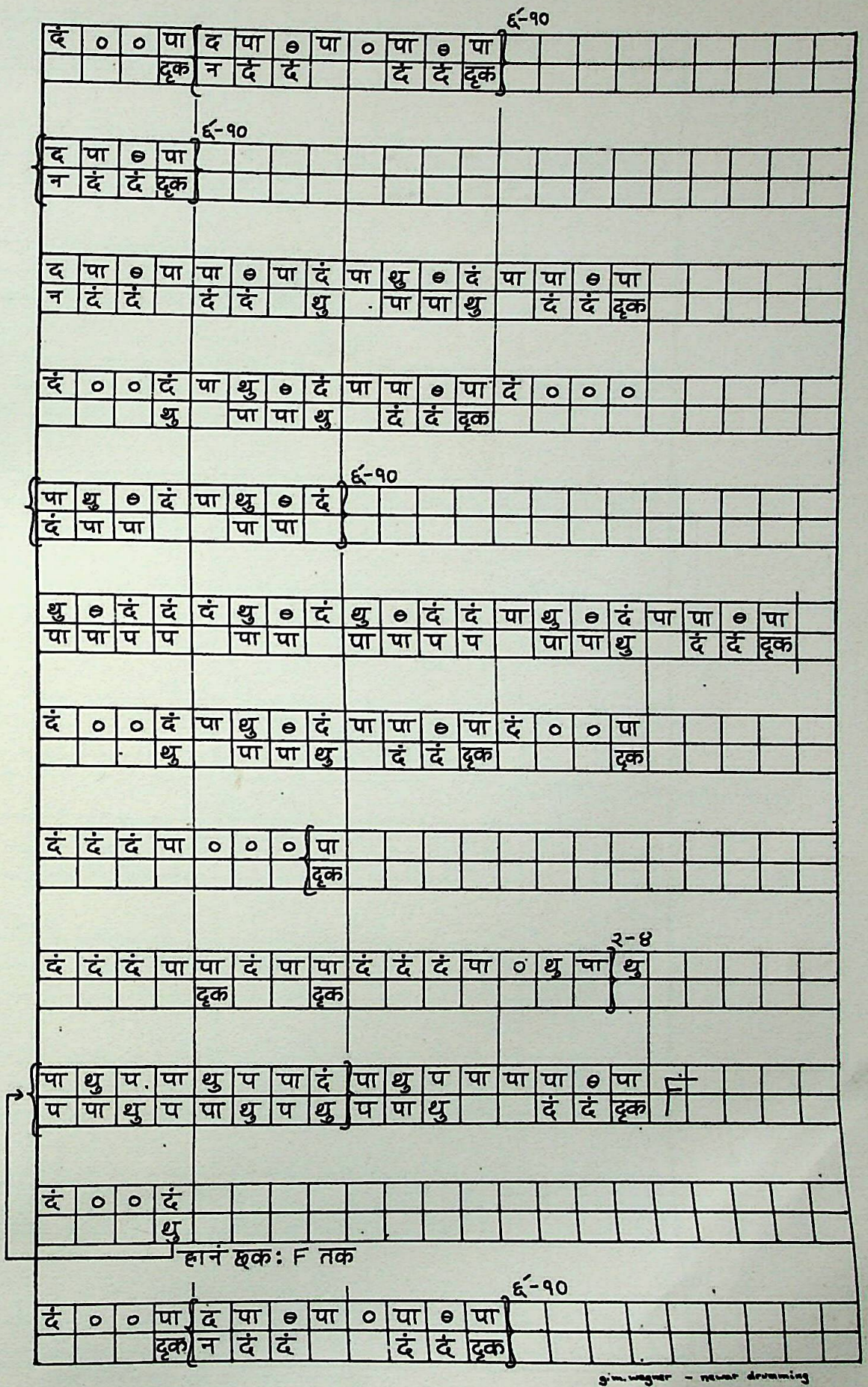

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६-१०

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हानं ह्रक: F तक

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४-६ ४-६ ४-६

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चल्तिया ह्रापांया ल्यू पाना हानं ह्रक:

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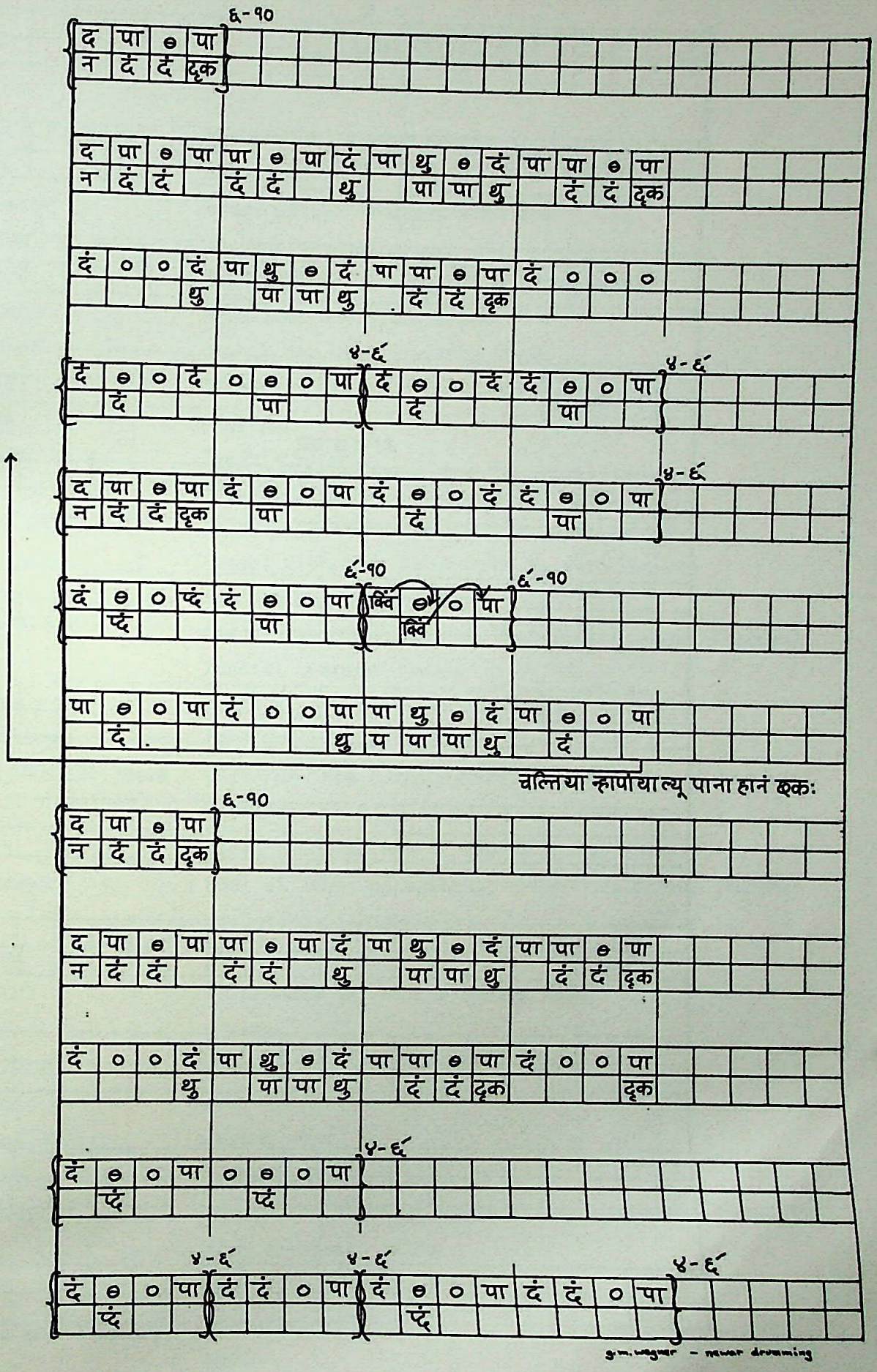

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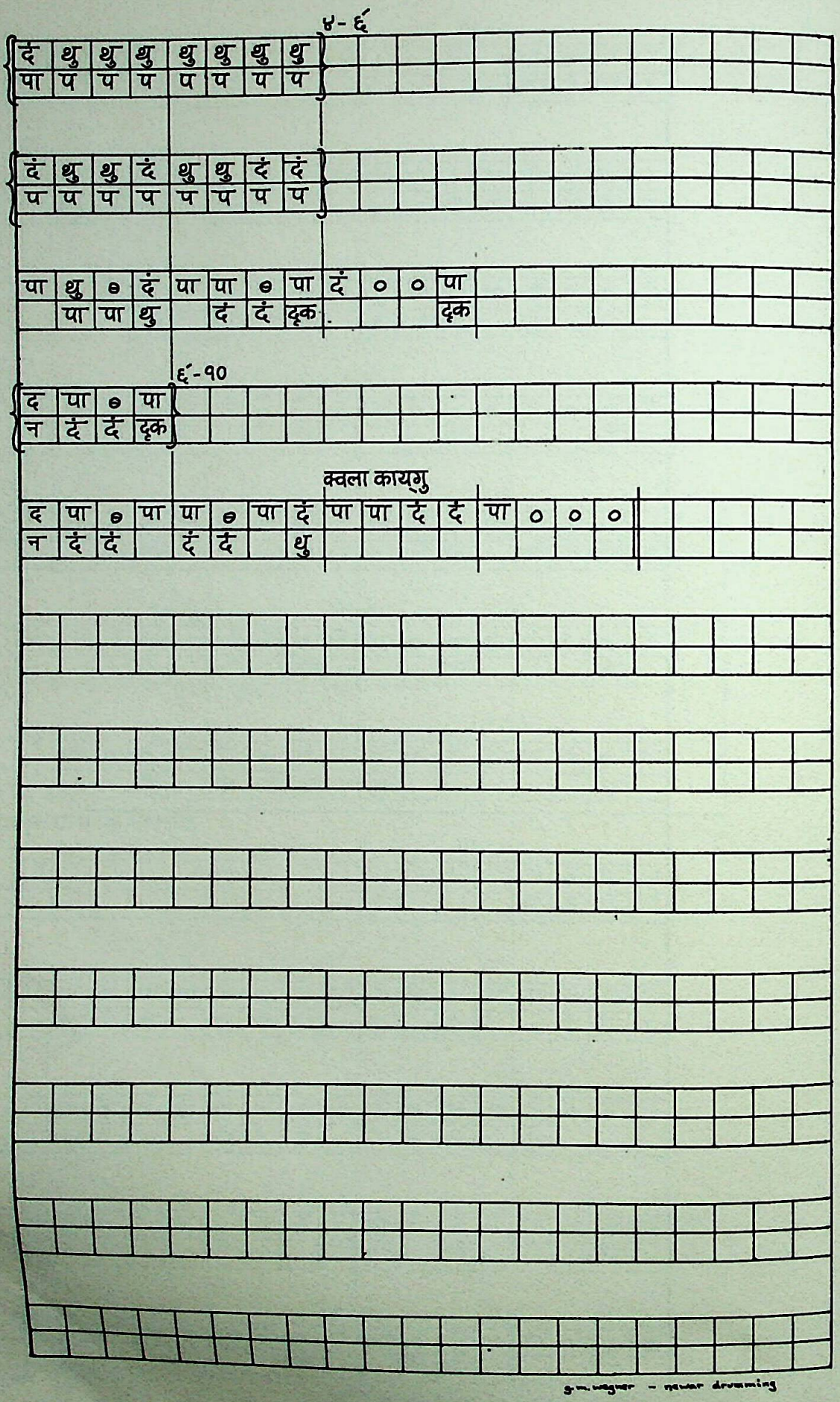

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Glossary

abhīr	red powder; a *pūjā* requisite
ācā	awl
āgamchẽ	house of the esoteric clan god
Ajimā	consort of *Bhairava*
alapu	castor seeds
Arjuna	hero from the *Mahābhārata*
aṣṭamī	eighth day of the waxing moon
aylā	liquor
bājã	clay pot
Bajrāchārya	Buddhist priest
bārā dāygu	*nāykhĩbājā* piece for returning home
bāre khĩ	*nāykhĩbājā* piece for Buddhist processions
bau halegu	ritual distribution of rice to evil spirits
benā	flat bamboo tool of *Kulu*
Betāl	chaotic spirit connected with *Bhairava* and *Nāsaḥdyaḥ*
Bhā	funeral bearers' caste
Bhagasiti	festival of well-cleaning (May)
Bhairava	terrifying aspect of Lord *Śiva*
bhājākhacāḥ-jātrā	part of the *bisket-jātrā*, Bhaktapur's New Year festival
bihi	blood drinking day of the *Navadurgā* (*dasaĩ*)
Bramayānī	one of the *aṣṭamātṛka*, the protecting mother goddesses of Bhaktapur
calti	*nāykhĩbājā* piece
cauthī	fourteenth day of the waning moon
cāsĩ	a tree
chālicā	pliers
chẽgu	hide
chemā pūjā	excuse *pūjā*
Chipā	dyers' caste
chvāsā	a peculiar stone at every street crossing, connected with the death rites
cikã	oil
da	drumming syllable
dã	ibid.

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dabu	platform, stage
dāga battī	straw torch with bamboo handle; for funeral
daphā	group singing with *lālākhĩ* accompaniment
dasaĩ	autumn festival, beginning of *Navadurgā* dances
dasamī	tenth day of the waxing moon
dhã	drumming syllable
dhã	procession drum
dhãbājā	ensemble of *dhã*, *bhuchyāḥ*, *sichyāḥ*
dhimay	procession drum
dhimaybājā	ensemble of *dhimay*, *bhuchyāḥ*, *sichyāḥ*
diyegu	stopping phrase of *nāykhĩ* pieces
Duĩ	carriers' caste
dũ byẽkegu	purification rite following a funeral
Dvãcā	carriers' caste
dyaḥ	god
dyaḥchẽ	house of god
dyaḥkhĩ	drum of the *Navadurgā*
dyaḥlhāygu	musical invocation of a god
Kumārī	goddess, personified by a girl
gaj	1 gaj = 36 inches
Gaṇeś	*Śiva*'s son with elephant head, Lord of good luck, prosperity, happiness, drumming
ghāji nã	ritual dress of the *Nāy-nāyah*
ghāṭ	sacred site at the river banks with steps
guṭhī	social organization for funeral rites, etc.
guṭhī saṃsthān	roof organization of the *guṭhīs*
gũlā	procession month of the Buddhist groups
guru	teacher
guruji	ibid. (Hindi)
guruju	ibid. (Newari)
gvaḥ	body of the drum
gvaḥgu ācā	flat awl
Haimā	terrifying aspect of *Nāsaḥdyaḥ*
Haimādyaḥ	ibid.
Indra	vedic god
Indrāyaṇī	one of the *aṣṭamātṛka*
jani	belt
jātrā	festival

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jhvāle cvābva	a tree
Jugi	tailor-musicians' caste
Jyāpu	farmers' caste
kã	a long trumpet played by *Sāymi* and *Khusaḥ*
kachicā	drum stick
kākhipaḥ	cotton string
karuvā	water pot
Kasāī	butchers' caste
kãy	*Nāy* term for *sichyāḥ*
kāytā pūjā	initiation ceremony for boys
khã me	sacrificial buffalo for the *Navadurgā*
Khusaḥ	palanquin bearers' caste
kisali	clay cup with rice and betelnut
Kulu	drum makers' caste
Kumār	son of *Śiva*
kuruvā	1 kuruva = 2 mānā (approximately 1 litre)
kvĩ	drumming syllable
lãcā	path
lālākhĩ	a drum used for *dāphā* accompaniment
lapi	blade
lapte	leaf; leaf-plate
lāyaku	Bhaktapur's royal palace
lvahã	stone
Mãkā	*Mahākāla*
masalā	tuning paste
mātrā	time measurement
mu nāyaḥ	the first *nāyaḥ*
musyã pvāḥ	torch
na	drumming syllable
Nāsaḥ	Lord of music and dance
Nāsaḥdyaḥ	ibid.
Nāsaḥ sāle pūjā	initial *pūjā* of drumming apprenticeship
Navadurgā	protecting gods of Bhaktapur, represented by masks
navabājā	ensemble of nine drums
navamī	ninth day of the waxing moon
Nāy	butchers' caste
nāyaḥ	leader
nāykhĩ	a drum

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nāykhĩbājā	*nāykhĩ* and *sichyāḥ*, played by *Nāy*
pa	drumming syllable
pā	ibid.
pāsaḥ carhe	*cauthī* of *Cait* (April)
phalicā	resting place with a roof
phaytā	ritual hat
pisāsa	evil spirit located at a stone in the *Taleju* courtyard
pīṭh	stone representing a god
pūjā	ritual offering
pūjā khĩ	drumming piece for *pūjā*
pvāḥ khanegu ācā	hole piercing awl
pvaṅā	trumpet played by *Sāymi* and *Jyāpu*
pvatā	leather ring
pvukhu	pond
Rājopadyāya	a Brahman priest
Rānā	family name of the prime ministers who ruled Nepal from 1846 to 1951
sāl dhūp	resin from the *sāl* tree
samay baji	a ritual hors d'oeuvre preceding *bhvẽ*, the ritual feast
Sāymi	oilpressers' caste
sīguṭhī	funeral organization
sībājā	drumming piece for funeral processions
sichyāḥ	pair of cymbals
śraddha	a death rite
Śrī Kṛṣṇa	Lord Kṛṣṇa
tã bālā	leather strap
tablā	North Indian drum (court music, *bhajan*)
Taleju	*principal goddess of Bhaktapur*
tāy	puffed rice
tāy halegu	distributing puffed rice
thu	drumming syllable
tisā me	a sacrificial buffalo
triyadasī	thirteenth day of the waxing moon
vĩ	drumming syllable
vibhūti	sacred ashes

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